

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

On-the-scene report

Spain: huge vote for workers parties

—PAGES 10, 15-19

South Africa protests mark Soweto rebellion

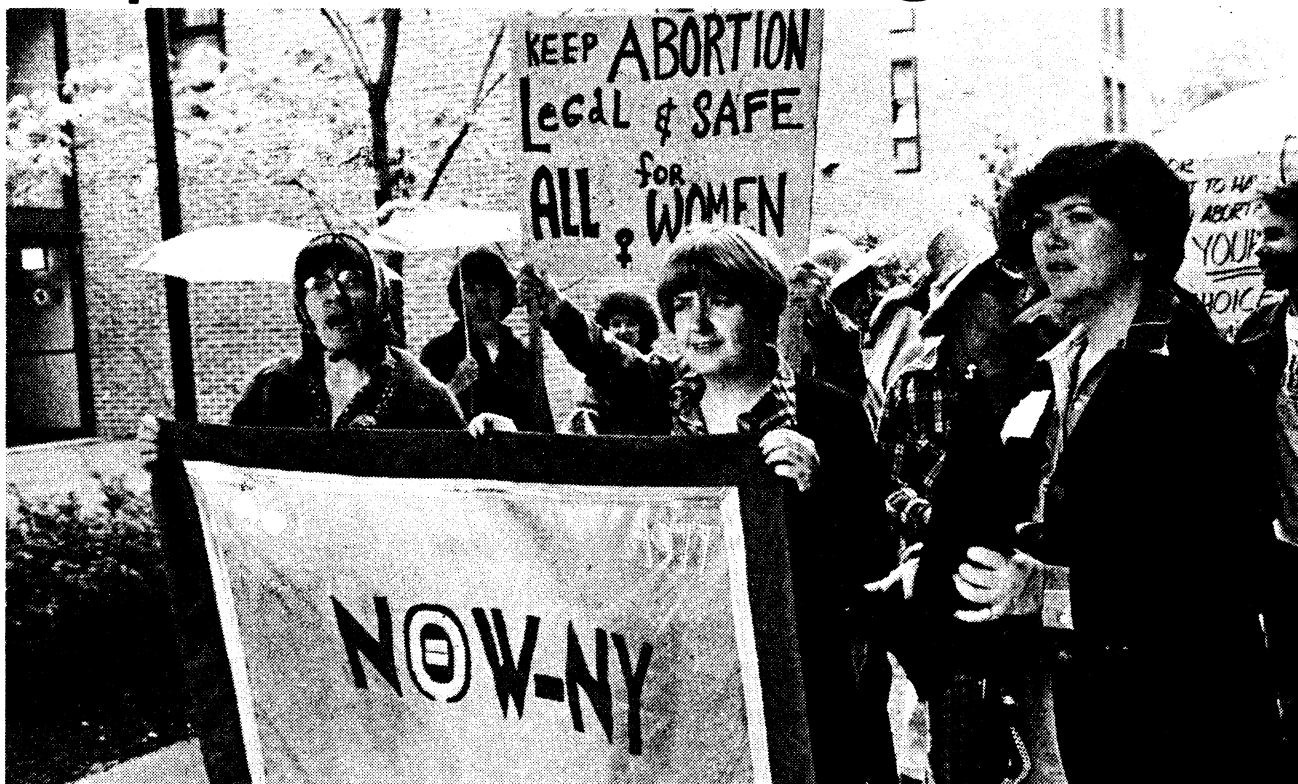
—PAGES 8, 10

Issues facing NAACP convention Carter, courts & Congress vs. Black rights

—PAGE 6

DEFEND ABORTION RIGHTS!

Socialist candidate condemns Supreme Court ruling



Militant/Jean Vertheim

Activists at northeast regional conference of National Organization for Women demonstrated June 18 against attacks on legal abortion.

The following is a statement by Rhonda Rutherford, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Philadelphia city controller and a member of the National Organization for Women.

Today I join with millions of other women in condemning the U.S. Supreme Court's alliance with Congress in actions to outlaw publicly funded abortions.

These moves by the highest bodies of government show total disregard for the lives of women and place every woman's right to abortion in jeopardy.

On June 20, the high court ruled six to three that states have the right to deprive low-income women of government funds for abortion. By overturning lower court rulings in Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and Missouri—rulings based on the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion—the justi-

ces have carried out a major retreat on one of the most important gains the women's movement has won.

Their ruling followed by three days the House of Representatives vote to approve a federal ban on all Medicaid-funded abortions—the Hyde amendment—as part of the appropriations bill for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare.

This is a major victory for the antiwoman foes of abortion and a severe setback for the women's movement. An immediate response from women and our supporters is urgently needed.

Those spearheading the attack have let it be known their target is *all* women's right to abortion.

"I certainly would like to prevent if I could legally, anybody having an abortion—a rich woman, a middle-class woman, or a poor woman," proclaimed Rep. Henry Hyde, sponsor of the House amendment.

"Unfortunately, the only vehicle available is the HEW Medicaid bill."

In voting to deny some 300,000 women each year safe and legal abortions, however, Hyde and his colleagues consciously singled out the most oppressed women. The ban would hit hardest at

Continued on page 4



Militant/Anne Teesdale

RHONDA RUTHERFORD

In Brief

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 Chicano conference wins new support
- 6 Supreme Court v. Black rights
- 7 Rally hails book on busing fight
- 8 S. African protests mark Soweto upsurge
- 9 Ruling slows Cleve. desegregation plan
- 12 Miller wins UMWA race, faces contract fight
- 15 Elections in Spain
- 25 Panama: seven decades under the Iron Heel
- 26 Thousands demonstrate for human rights
- 27 Skyhorse-Mohawk witness admits he lied
- 29 Indians expose U.S. hypocrisy on rights

2 In Brief

- 10 In Our Opinion Letters
- 11 The American Way of Life National Picket Line
- 13 Steel Notes
- 14 Campaigning for Socialism
- 20 As I See It
- 28 In Review

WORLD OUTLOOK

- 21 USSR constitution: cover for more repression
- 22 Thousands at int'l women's conference
- 23 World News Notes
- 24 Ethiopia: hundreds of dissidents shot down

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VETS KNIFED: The House of Representatives has voted to bar funds for President Carter's already inadequate amnesty program for some draft evaders and military deserters. It also voted to refuse veterans benefits for any ex-GI who received an upgraded discharge.

Hundreds of thousands of Vietnam-era vets received arbitrary less-than-honorable discharges. Employers are often reluctant to hire vets who don't have an honorable discharge, and without one you aren't eligible for veterans benefits.

Blacks, already handicapped by racist discrimination, are further burdened by having a disproportionate share of less-than-honorable discharges.

Panther suit dismissed

By Manuel Barrera

CHICAGO—U.S. District Court Judge Joseph Sam Perry dismissed all charges June 20 against seven cops who raided Black Panther Party headquarters here in 1969 and murdered Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

Perry's dismissal ended the eighteen-month-long trial in which Panther survivors and relatives of Clark and Hampton sued the raiders and other police and state officials for damages.

According to attorneys for the Panthers, the judge's decision was "extraordinary and unprecedented," because it came after the six-member jury (five whites and one Black) deadlocked at four-to-two for acquittal.

Perry's decision, consistent with his racist conduct throughout the trial, dismissed months of testimony and evidence that have uncovered police surveillance and infiltration of the Panthers. "The court finds . . . that there was insufficient evidence to support each and every allegation," Perry said.

Panther lawyer Jeffrey Haas blasted Perry's move. Referring to the judge's earlier dismissal of charges against former state's attorney Edward Hanrahan, who ordered the raid, and other officials, Haas said "Judge Perry already let the higher-ups go free and now he has let the shooters go free. . . ."

William Hampton, brother of Fred Hampton, told the Militant, "Neither my family nor myself are surprised. . . . The judge just waited until the proper time to make the wrong decision." He said that the lawyers were going to appeal the case. "It's not over," he said. "We are going to appeal for more support, nationally and internationally."

FREE SPEECH: 'RED MENACE'? Despite assurances from J. Edgar Hoover that it wasn't happening, the FBI spied on the American Civil Liberties Union from 1920 to at least 1943, documents released to the ACLU in Chicago reveal.

The spy operations, all of which were personally approved by Hoover, also collected dossiers on leading ACLU members, including Felix Frankfurter, later a Supreme Court justice; Helen Keller; pioneer social worker Jane Addams; author Upton Sinclair; and attorney Clarence Darrow.

According to the *Chicago Daily News*, the FBI infiltrated "on every level." Reports regularly described ACLU members and sympathizers as "radicals," "Communists," "Socialists," "Russians," and "Jews."

The documents released so far cover only the period up to 1943. Further items will be released in coming months.

CONGRESS ATTACKS GAY RIGHTS: The House of Representatives voted June 15—with "little debate," according to United Press International—to forbid federal housing aid for gay couples with low incomes. The Department of Housing and Urban Development had allowed such assistance since last May.

The International Socialist Review, which normally appears as a magazine supplement in the first Militant of the month, will appear next week.

MAJORITY FAVOR TRADE WITH CUBA: Fifty-three percent of New York metropolitan area residents polled in May by the New York *Daily News* favor lifting the U.S. embargo on trade with Cuba. Fifty percent agree with U.S. moves to ease travel restrictions to Cuba and other countries.

CANADIAN SOCIALISTS DISCUSS GAY RIGHTS: *Gay Liberation in Canada: A Socialist Perspective* is a record of the discussion by members of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière on the relationship between socialist revolution and gay liberation struggles. Edited by LSA member Duncan McLean, this new pamphlet contains writings and speeches on socialist

strategy for gay liberation and takes up some of the issues posed by groups within the gay liberation movement.

Although written from the Canadian perspective, it has many important lessons for U.S. readers.

Gay Liberation in Canada (32 pages, 8½x11 format) is available for one dollar from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

Hit anti-ERA vote



Sixty Tucson, Arizona, supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment picketed the National Conference of Mayors June 15 after Tucson Mayor Lew Murphy cast the sole vote against a resolution supporting the ERA. Murphy signed a pro-ERA statement two years ago when he ran for office.

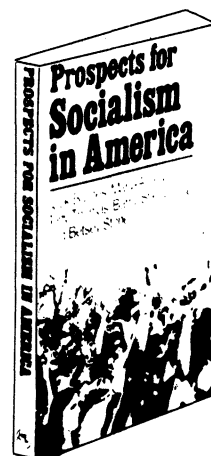
LANGSTON MEMORIAL: A memorial meeting for Robert Langston, a member of the Socialist Workers Party for eleven years and a former staff writer for the *Militant*, will be held Sunday, June 26, at 4:30 p.m. at the Community Church, 40 East 35th Street, New York City. Langston died in Paris June 10 of a heart attack.

The meeting will be chaired by Linda Jenness, SWP New York City organizer. Co-workers and friends who will speak include Joanna Misnik, George Novack, Dick Roberts, James Morgan, and Alan Wald.

—Arnold Weissberg

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'...we must organize to defend abortion rights'

Continued from front page

Blacks, Chicanas, and Puerto Ricans—38.5 percent of whom rely on Medicaid for health care—and other working-class women.

Members of the House reinforced this racist and sexist move with two other riders to the bill—one against busing and the other against affirmative action.

The Senate Appropriations Committee followed suit June 21 and approved a ban on abortions for Medicaid recipients.

Last year, a similar version of the Hyde amendment passed both the House and Senate. The Supreme Court has yet to rule on the constitutionality of this 1976 bill. But the June 20 decision on state abortion curbs is an ominous sign of what we can expect from these "guardians of the Constitution."

In fact, the anti-abortion forces have already petitioned the Supreme Court to immediately lift the lower court injunction against the 1976 Hyde amendment in light of the new decisions.

There can be no mistaking that the setback for abortion rights will hurt all our struggles as women—for the Equal Rights Amendment, affirmative action, child care, and the fight to end sterilization abuse.

In 1973 the Supreme Court ruled that *all* women—poor and rich alike—have the constitutional right to choose whether to have an abortion.

Today, the court has wrested that right from poor women and handed it back to the states. In the court's opinion, state governments now have a constitutionally protected "valid and important interest in encouraging childbirth."

But what right do the Supreme Court, Congress, or state governments have to force unwanted

pregnancies on any women, or—as is more likely—to drive them to illegal and dangerous abortions?

The utter contempt with which the government views women and our right to control our bodies was graphically portrayed during the House debate. Rep. Eldon Rudd (R-Ariz) callously compared funding abortions for low-income women to buying them "face-liftings, hair transplants, expensive cars, and tickets to the Kennedy Center."

If a woman wants the right to control her own body, he continued, "let her exercise control—before she gets pregnant."

The Supreme Court magnanimously left the states "free" to fund abortions if they so desire. Such "policy" decisions "should be resolved by the representatives of the people," the majority wrote.

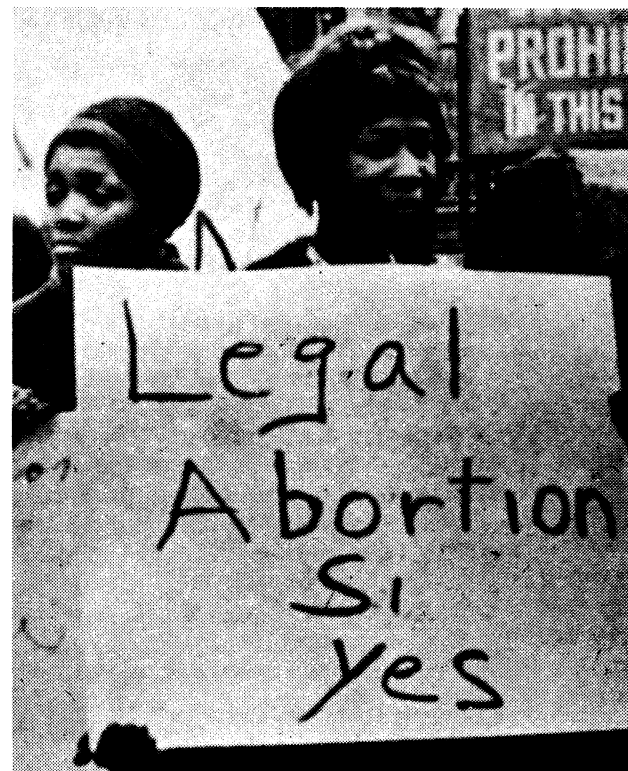
But our so-called representatives have already made their antiwoman stance clear. And there is little question about what "policies" state officials will make. Connecticut's Democratic Gov. Ella Grasso has already announced that her state will cease funding elective abortions.

As dissenting Justice Harry Blackmun pointed out, the court "well knows" states aren't about to fund abortions now.

"Why should any politician incur the demonstrated wrath and noise of the abortion opponents when mere silence and nonactivity accomplish the results the opponents want?" he asked.

That is exactly the problem. The politicians have heard *only* the "wrath and noise" of abortion foes and not the voices of the supporters of women's right to choose.

The majority of people in this country support the right to abortion. But the well-financed and misnamed "right to lifers" have outmobilized us time after time.



More than a third of Black, Chicana, and Puerto Rican women depend on Medicaid funds for abortions and other health care.

They have been emboldened by each defeat for the ERA, each cutback in affirmative action and child care, each new attack on busing for desegregation, and most recently by the defeat for gay rights in Florida.

We must answer these attacks! As a member of the National Organization for Women, I urge NOW and the women's movement as a whole to launch an emergency response.

By repudiating this new assault on the rights of Black, Chicana, Puerto Rican and working-class women, we can counter the transparent attempt by the government to divide our movement on race and economic lines.

We must show the Supreme Court, Congress, and every politician in this land that women will not tolerate a reversal of the 1973 abortion rights victory for any of our sisters.

We need immediate news conferences, picket lines, speak-outs, and demonstrations against any and all restrictions on abortion. And we need to develop a long-term strategy for defending our right to choose abortion and our right not to be sterilized against our will.

We can reach out to our allies in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican movements, among labor and students, and seek their support in this campaign.

In 1973 the growing power of women and our determination to control our destiny forced the government to grant us the right to abortion. If we are to maintain that right today, we must again demonstrate our strength in action.

NOW members protest Hyde amendment

By Gale Shangold

BURLINGTON, Vt.—The Northeastern regional conference of the National Organization for Women convened here June 17 on the heels of a major attack on abortion rights.

That day the House of Representatives approved the Hyde amendment to cut off Medicaid funds for abortion.

Women at the conference were outraged over this vote. They passed a resolution opposing the House decision and urging NOW chapters "to organize a telegram, writing, and calling campaign."

"In light of the urgency of this problem," the resolution continues, "chapters ought to organize teach-ins, speak-outs, pickets, press conferences or whatever else to publicize this erosion of a woman's right to choose whether and when to bear a child."

Five o'clock Saturday was reserved for a march down Main Street in defense of abortion rights.

One hundred women joined the march and rally that followed.

"The politicians have to know that if they try to pick off the most vulnerable of us—gay people, minority women, poverty women—that we are going to be there solidly behind these women," NOW national Vice-president Arlie Scott told the protesters.

"We are not going to lose," she said. "We are going to use everything in our power, everything that we have—political actions, mass demonstrations, grass-roots efforts."

Socialist Workers Party candidate for Boston School Committee Hattie McCutcheon told the rally that the Hyde amendment would "legalize backstreet abortion, which led to the death of thousands of Black and Puerto Rican women before we won the right to abortion."

She concluded, "We must out-mobilize the racist, antibusing, anti-Black, antiwomen forces."

Attacks on affirmative action: warning to labor

By Frank Lovell

Two recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions upholding "seniority rights" against civil rights ought to be a warning to the union movement. These rulings deprive Black and women workers of protection from discrimination won in earlier struggles. They will encourage employers to whittle away other gains that many union members still think are secure.

The court majority barred any changes in seniority rules in force before the 1964 Civil Rights Act took effect, even if those systems perpetuate the effects of race and sex discrimination. They ruled that Title VII of that act, which banned discrimination in employment, was not intended to rectify prior discrimination.

The second ruling placed strict time limits on the filing of complaints by victims of discrimination even after the 1964 act.

Taken together, the combined result is a job lockout of women and minorities. They can still challenge discriminatory hiring practices and force companies to promote them when there are job openings. But they are stripped of protection on the job after promo-

tion, because they trapped by the "last hired, first fired" practices left intact by the court.

Employers who discriminate at the hiring gate will now be spared the most costly penalties, just as anti-union employers are able to violate at little expense the collective bargaining provisions of the 1935 Wagner Act.

Laws passed as concessions to powerful social movements against inequality and injustice are soon eroded when these movements recede. This is what happened when unions relinquished much of their independence and submitted to government regulation during World War II. The gains of the Wagner Act were restricted in 1947 by the antiunion Taft-Hartley legislation.

And so it is today. The gains embodied in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 are being eroded as the protest movements of Blacks and women become less visible in the streets and appear to wane.

The main reason these recent court decisions ought to serve as a warning to the union movement is that they are bound to have an impact at the workplace. The solidarity of workers

that grows with each success in the constant struggle to defend the rights of the most oppressed is undermined by such setbacks.

The employers are always looking for ways to impose more restrictions on the work force, introduce divisive shop rules, and foster antiunion sentiment.

The fact that the union bureaucracy was instrumental in these adverse decisions is no credit to the union movement. It alienates some of the best union defenders—Black and women workers. This weakens the power of the unions and leaves them easy prey to further attacks.

A statement by top AFL-CIO officials said that "the court's rulings are in precise accord with the understandings of those who worked against great odds to fashion the creative compromises that made possible the enactment of Title VII." This confuses the means for the cause.

It was the civil rights movement—the marches and demonstrations of Black people in all the major cities of this country—that caused Title VII to be enacted, not the behind-the-scenes compromises that eased it through

Congress and planted the seeds of its early destruction.

Black and women's rights leaders were surprised by the court decisions and shocked at the prospect of losing the partial gains they thought had been secured through consent decrees in the steel, communications, retail sales, air transportation, and other industries. These settlements provided plant-wide seniority, upgrading, and back pay to make up for past discrimination. These decisions, involving thousands of workers and millions of dollars, may now be reviewed.

There is talk among civil rights lawyers and others of petitioning for a review of the Supreme Court decisions, but this is an unlikely prospect. The political trend against the working class—and especially against minorities, women, and youth—will be reversed when the victims of this mounting repression stage massive protest demonstrations again as they have done in the past.

When that occurs, there will be broad sectors of the union movement, this time in defiance of bureaucratic "compromise," marching in alliance with other defenders of civil rights.

D.C., Chicago protesters demand: 'Keep abortion safe and legal'

By Dorothy Hawkinson

WASHINGTON—Chanting, "Keep abortion safe and legal," and "Defeat the Hyde amendment," 200 people—many of them Black women—rallied on the east steps of the Capitol here June 15.

June 15 was the day Congress was to consider appropriations for the departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare. Included in the bill is a ban on Medicaid funds for abortions—the Hyde amendment.

The anti-abortion section of the bill was actually debated June 17 and passed 201 to 155. The vote followed a debate in which the enemies of women's rights compared limits on abortions for Medicaid recipients to the survival of whales, dolphins, and eagles.

At the June 15 rally, Anita Betty Shelton, director of the National Committee on Household Employment, Gloria Steinem, and Rep. Elizabeth Holtzman addressed the crowd, while a handful of anti-abortionists wearing red roses heckled.

"No government that speaks of human rights abroad can attempt to deny women the basic reproductive right to control their own bodies," said Steinem.

The noontime rally and vigil was hastily called by the National Women's Political Caucus and the National Committee on Household Employment.

Participants included representatives from such organizations as the National Abortion Rights Action League, National Organization for Women, United Auto Workers, Unitarian Universalist church, Women's Lobby, Americans for Democratic Action, Socialist Workers Party, and Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights.

By Suzanne Haig

CHICAGO—A broadly sponsored news conference and picket line protested the federal Hyde amendment and three anti-abortion bills in the

state legislature here June 8. The action at the federal building attracted about thirty-five people.

"In essence, the right to choose whether and when to have children—one of our most basic rights as women—will be denied to thousands of us," Barbara Williams from the Black Women's Task Force said at the news conference.

"Moreover, the right of all women to safe and inexpensive abortions is threatened. If these anti-abortion bills are passed, it will be easier for the government to pass laws banning all abortions, which will put us back where we were before the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion."

Endorsers of the noontime event included Latin Women in Action, Phoenix National Organization for Women, South Suburban NOW, Catholics for a Free Choice, American Civil Liberties Union, Abortion Rights Association, Zero Population Growth, and Illinois Women's Political Caucus.

Utah 'right to lifers' on all-out drive

By Roberta Frick

SALT LAKE CITY—The so-called right-to-life movement, aided by the Catholic and Mormon churches, is on an all-out drive to deny Utah women the right to choose abortion.

The "right to lifers" are spearheading an anti-abortion campaign to collect 54,000 signatures to place a state referendum on the 1978 ballot. A yes vote on the referendum would favor making it a felony to perform or receive an abortion.

On May 31, about fifteen anti-abortionists picketed the Utah Women's Clinic with signs that said, "Baby Killers for Hire—\$200 and up." They carried posters with pictures of fetuses entitled, "Thanks a Lot Mom."

They taunted and jeered women who crossed the picket line to enter the clinic.

"The reason they chose the Utah Women's Clinic as their target is simple," clinic director Sandra Bagley

Int'l actions support right to choose

By Gale Shangold

Despite a worldwide trend toward the liberalization of abortion laws, the issue of abortion rights remains a volatile one. Recent events show that women's right to choose is far from settled.

Italy

The Italian Senate voted June 7 against a bill that would have liberalized the country's abortion law. The bill was passed by the Chamber of Deputies in January.

The response to this defeat was swift. Right after the vote, hundreds of women demonstrated outside the Senate building. Their banners read "Vergogna!" (For shame!) Protest meetings, discussions, leaflet distributions, and spontaneous demonstrations took place around the country.

According to the June 11 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*, women workers from several factories in Florence and Modena walked off the job to participate in spontaneously organized sit-ins.

On June 9, several thousand women demonstrated in Milan. In five other

cities leaflet distributions and sit-ins were held.

The secularist parties in Italy have decided to reintroduce the abortion bill in parliament.

Discussions on why the bill lost and what to do next are taking place all over Italy. Many activists feel they made a costly error by relying on political parties to win abortion rights.

"One reason seems to have been absorbed by everyone," reports *Rouge*, "to get what they want, women must make their weight felt by fighting and mobilizing."

Canada

Three hundred women in Toronto demonstrated for abortion rights May 28. Protesters demanded repeal of Canada's anti-abortion law. The May 28 Coalition for Abortion Rights, which includes twenty-three organizations, organized the action.

The Canadian abortion law states that abortions are illegal unless approved by a hospital committee. And according to the law, approval will be granted only if a woman's mental or physical health is in danger.

What's more, only a minority of hospitals perform abortions. And most of them have set quotas for the number of abortions they will perform. It is estimated that more than 10,000 Canadian women are forced to go to the United States each year to obtain abortions.

New Zealand

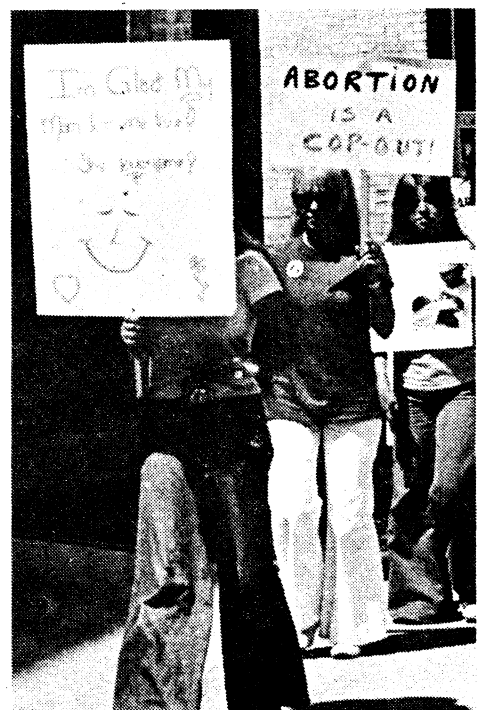
The United Women's Convention, held in Christchurch, New Zealand, in early June, drew about 2,700 people.

Opposition to the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Contraception, Sterilization and Abortion was the dominant theme of the convention.

The commission recommendations would make it nearly impossible for a woman to get an abortion.

Two hundred women attended a special session of the convention to plan further actions to protest the proposed abortion restrictions. Several large protests have already taken place. The session adopted a proposal for a National Weekend of Action July 8-10.

The full convention overwhelmingly passed a motion to oppose the recommendations of the royal commission.



Militant/Stuart Schwab

Anti-abortionists picket women's clinic, the only one in Salt Lake City that performs abortions.

told the *Militant*. "It is the only clinic in Salt Lake City that performs abortions, and we accept Medicaid payment."

The clinic performs more than 85 percent of all abortions in Utah and serves women from Wyoming, Idaho, Nevada, and Colorado. Bagley knows of only two private physicians in the city outside the clinic who perform abortions.

The Salt Lake City chapter of the National Organization for Women issued an angry statement on the pickets. "We are outraged at those who would deny women control of their own reproductive lives," the statement said.

"These assaults on women's rights must be stopped and full access to abortion and contraception must be made available to all women."

The NOW chapter is planning activities in defense of abortion rights for August 26. Women in NOW also plan to submit a resolution in support of the right to choose to the International Women's Year conference here at the end of June.

La. women vow bigger ERA effort

By Joel Aber

BATON ROUGE, La.—"We're not dealing with legal problems. We're dealing with good old-fashioned sexism," Sara Jeffries told women gathered on the capitol steps here June 7.

Jeffries is coordinator of the Equal Rights Amendment Task Force of the New Orleans chapter of National

Joel Aber is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New Orleans.

Organization for Women.

"Boys," she warned, turning toward the marble-columned building, "we're gonna be back, and back in greater numbers, until we get equal justice."

Minutes earlier 200 women had jammed the House of Representatives gallery to watch the Louisiana legislature defeat the ERA in committee for the fifth consecutive year.

By an eleven-to-five vote, the House

Civil Law Committee moved unfavorably on the ERA, effectively killing it for another year.

Anti-women's rights legislators brought forth a parade of speakers from Catholic women's groups, Chamber of Commerce, Young Americans for Freedom, and other right-wing groups with charges that the ERA would "destroy the family," "infringe on the rights of unborn children," and "encourage homosexuality."

A woman representing Females Opposed to Equality (FOE) carried a sign that said, "Defeat the ERA and Repeal the 14th Amendment." (The Fourteenth Amendment was passed to grant civil rights to Blacks.)

The most common argument of legislators opposed to the ERA was "states' rights." Rep. Alphonse Jackson, a Black legislator, reminded the committee that states' rights had once been their excuse to deny civil rights to Blacks.

"You scream about federal encroach-

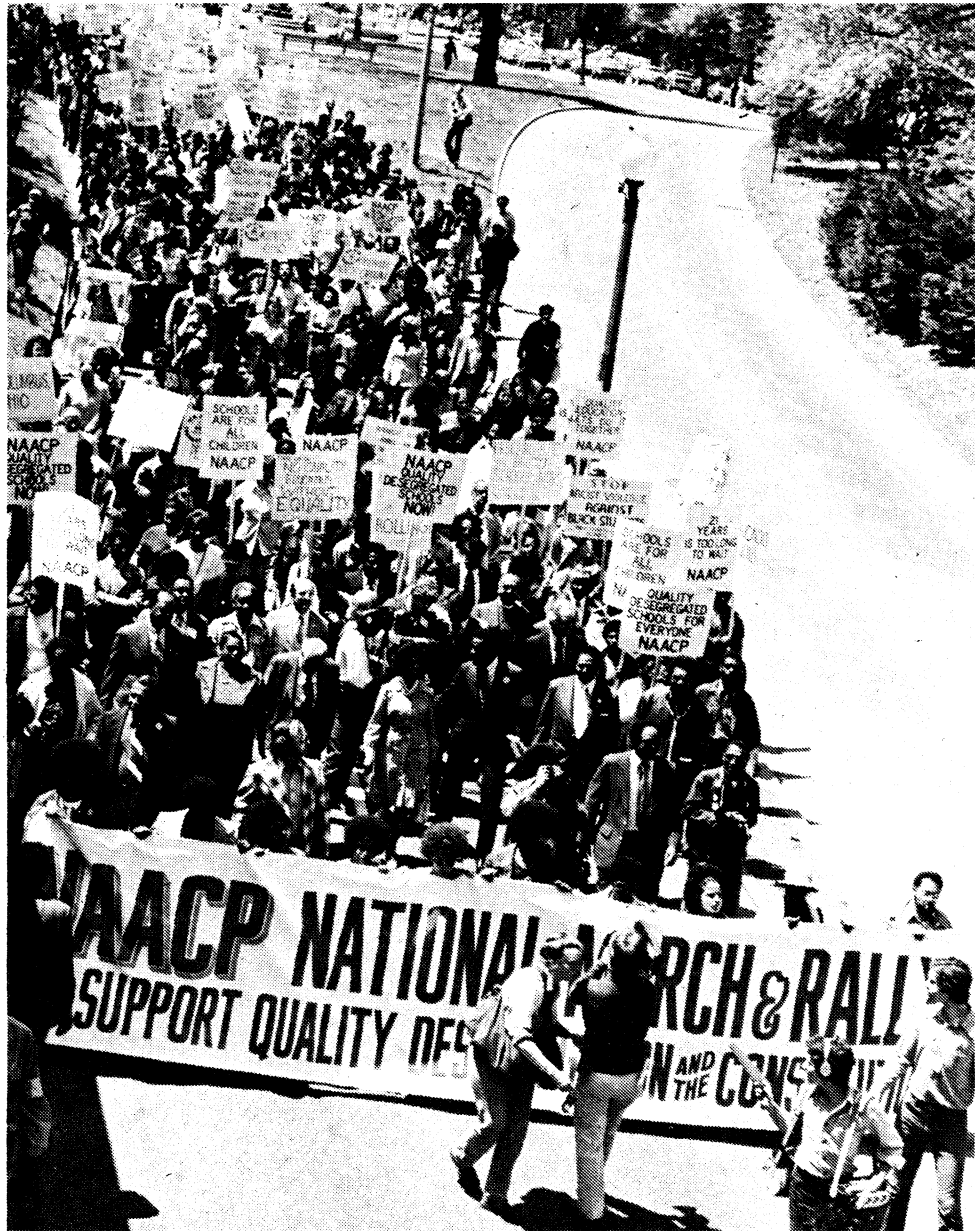
ment, but without federal authority I would not have been permitted to even address you here today," he said.

The busload of women from ERA Central and NOW in New Orleans scheduled a news conference on the capitol steps for after the vote, and it turned into a rally as fifty women gathered.

In addition to Jeffries, speakers included Marlene Roeder of the American Civil Liberties Union, who linked failure to ratify the ERA to the nationwide attack on abortion rights; Liz Pizzo, president of New Orleans NOW; trade-union activist Ida Martinez; and a representative from a gay rights group.

Attorney Anita Gancheaux noted that "this same legislature voted a resounding welcome to Anita Bryant." After lobbying the legislature for five years, she concluded, "My approach was wrong. We must take to the streets. We need to be more strident."

Supreme Court et al. v. Black rights



May 17, 1975, probusing march on Boston called by NAACP

New challenge facing NAACP convention

By John Hawkins

The sixty-eighth annual NAACP convention in St. Louis will be an important event for the entire Black movement.

At the convention Roy Wilkins, NAACP national executive director for more than twenty years, will retire. Benjamin Hooks, former federal communications commissioner, will replace him.

But more important will be the NAACP's response to the mounting attacks on Black rights. Of all the national Black organizations, the NAACP is most identified with the fight to desegregate the schools, for affirmative action in hiring and university admissions, and for open housing.

What is behind the current attacks on Black rights?

How have the NAACP's strategy and tactics measured up to the task of defending these rights?

These are the key questions before the convention.

New attack on Black rights

Since the fall of 1974 when school busing for desegregation began in Boston, Black rights have come under

increasing attack.

With the open or covert blessing of government officials—from city hall to the White House—racist mobs launched a vicious assault on the right of Black students to an equal education and the right of all Blacks to safely walk city streets.

While antibusing racists have not succeeded in turning back school desegregation in Boston, Blacks must still avoid certain neighborhoods for fear of attack. Plans for further desegregation have been curtailed under racist pressure. And Black students are still subject to harassment and intimidation in school.

Today this offensive against Black rights has spread. And the Supreme Court, Congress, and the Carter administration are now spearheading the attack.

Recent Supreme Court decisions on school desegregation, open housing, and affirmative action in employment have virtually absolved employers and the government of any responsibility to end discrimination.

These decisions have also erected new barriers to proving race discrimination in the courts. Thus, in the court's view, proof that government or

employer practices have a discriminatory impact is no longer sufficient. Victims of discrimination must now prove purposeful intent to discriminate.

Armed with this reinterpretation, Carter administration spokespeople have joined in whittling away at Black rights.

Attorney General Griffin Bell, an avowed opponent of school busing, announced last winter that, in his view, the court had placed strict limits on busing. And he proceeded accordingly in the Wilmington, Delaware, desegregation case.

Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) Joseph Califano claimed that he would cut off federal funds to school districts that refused to desegregate. But he has already reneged on Chicago's schools—some of the most segregated in the country.

Califano has also retreated on his initial statements in support of quotas—the only way affirmative action in employment and higher education can be enforced. Califano now advocates the use of "goals" to be met gradually by universities and employers.

Most recently the House of Representatives attached three reactionary amendments to HEW's appropriations bill. One prohibits withholding of federal funds from school districts that refuse to use busing for purposes of desegregation. Another bans the use of federal funds to promulgate or enforce quotas.

The third bars the use of federal Medicaid funds to finance abortions. This cruel attack on the rights of minority and other poor women was reinforced a few days later by a Supreme Court ruling that state governments can deny public funding—and even the use of public hospitals—to perform abortions.

Showdown on 'Bakke'

This overall government assault threatens the gains won by the Black movement over the past twenty years of struggle. It threatens to cut Black communities off from any relief of the problems of unemployment, substandard housing, police brutality, and racist frame-ups.

The simultaneous government attacks on women's rights also threaten half of the Black population with continued sex discrimination as well.

With these victories under their belts, opponents of Black equality have now fixed their sights on a new target—affirmative-action programs in employment and education and the use of quotas to enforce them. And the bull's-eye on this target is a September 1976 California court ruling that found the University of California Board of Regents guilty of "reverse discrimination" for operating a minority admissions program—the *Bakke* decision.

The Supreme Court is scheduled to review the case this fall.

Even before the 1974-75 recession, resistance by employers, the government, and union bureaucrats to affirmative-action programs and quotas was strong. During the recession, however, the campaign against affirmative-action programs gathered steam.

Now affirmative-action opponents are campaigning to dismantle the programs altogether, or retain them in name only while rendering them ineffective by outlawing the use of quotas.

In the wake of the *Bakke* decision some university officials in California have already begun to dismantle minority admissions programs at professional schools. University officials and employers across the country are likely to follow suit.

A Supreme Court decision to uphold the *Bakke* decision, on top of its other recent rulings against affirmative action, would further stiffen employer and university resistance.

Such a ruling would legitimize the false argument of "reverse discrimination." That would mean open season on any measures to achieve equality

for Blacks and women by compensating for the effects of centuries of past discrimination.

Mapping a realistic approach to reverse the *Bakke* decision is therefore a key task confronting the Black movement as a whole and the NAACP in particular. Such an approach must be part of a larger strategy to defend Black rights.

Behind government attacks

The backdrop to this reactionary blitz by the courts, Congress, and Carter is the all-out offensive by the ruling rich against all U.S. working people, an offensive that bears down especially hard on Blacks.

This drive is useful to the rulers in two ways: it forces Blacks to bear the brunt of the capitalist economic crisis; and it helps divide white workers from Blacks, thereby making a united response to the assault more difficult.

During the 1974-75 recession, massive layoffs on a "last hired, first fired" basis virtually wiped out Black employment gains. And despite the much talked-about "recovery" since then, Black unemployment remains twice that of whites, while the income gap between Blacks and whites widens.

Carrying out this offensive on the economic front was impossible without a simultaneous offensive against Black rights. Here, however, the employers and their Democratic and Republican party servants have had to move more cautiously, testing the water at each step.

They realize that overstepping themselves in whittling away at gains that all Blacks have come to consider as established rights could provoke a powerful response from Blacks and their supporters across the country.

Such a massive counteroffensive by the Black movement could force them to postpone or reverse their plans. It could quickly gather steam with each new successful stand against some encroachment on Black rights.

This response to defend past rights might then grow over into a movement to win new rights.

Such a movement could not be easily confined to Blacks. It would set an inspiring example to others fighting similar reactionary attacks: Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, other oppressed minorities, and women.

It would set an example for rank-and-file trade unionists beginning to challenge the employers' prerogatives and the complicity of labor bureaucrats in tying their unions' hands.

Such a movement would find ready allies among these other forces fighting to defend their rights and living standards. Such a united fight against the employer offensive would open the possibility of far-reaching social, economic, and political changes. The employers and their political representatives in the Democratic and Republican parties want to avoid this at all costs.

Containing the movement

The problem confronting the rulers is how to head off such a development. An indispensable tool in doing that is the Democratic Party, especially its liberal wing.

Traditionally liberal Democrats have posed as friends of Black people and labor. Over the past decade—under the impact of the civil rights and Black power movements—the party's most far-sighted elements engineered a major face-lifting.

To head off growing Black disenchantment with the two-party system, the Democrats opened the door to Black elected officials. Although Blacks are still underrepresented at all levels of government, there are more Blacks in elected and appointed offices today than at any time since Reconstruction—the decade immediately following the Civil War.

During the last presidential election the Democratic Party machine geared up once again to go after the Black vote. Despite Carter's racist record as governor of Georgia, his opposition to

government enforcement of Black civil rights, and his statements on "ethnic purity," a powerful coalition of Black organizations—Operation Big Vote—backed him to the hilt. This included the NAACP.

This campaign to turn out the vote for Carter was counterposed to organizing any visible mass response to the attacks on Black rights. The absence of such a response gave the government a free hand during the campaign. And the absence of any response since Carter's inauguration has allowed his administration, Congress, and the Supreme Court to intensify the assault.

The truth is that the Democratic Party, like the Republican Party, represents the interests of big business, which has resisted every improvement in the living conditions and rights of Blacks.

Maintaining Blacks at the bottom of the economic heap—as a superexploited section of the working class separated by race prejudice from white workers—is both profitable for big business and essential to its political rule.

The gains of the Black movement over the past twenty years have been won in opposition to both the Democrats and Republicans. Despite Democratic majorities in Congress and the liberal Kennedy and Johnson administrations, it took massive mobilizations of Blacks throughout the country to win passage of the Civil Rights and Voting Rights acts.

Even while posing as friends of Black people, Kennedy and Johnson waged war on Black organizations and leaders. They conducted a massive campaign of spying and harassment against Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, and the NAACP itself. They waged a murderous war against the Black Panther Party, and there is reason to suspect governmental involvement in the assassinations of King and Malcolm.

The election of Blacks to office on the Democratic ticket has not changed this. At best these Black elected officials are ineffective—relying on legislative deals to eke out some minor reforms. At worst they themselves have carried out attacks on the rights and living standards of Blacks, as Atlanta's Mayor Maynard Jackson did this spring in crushing a strike of Black sanitation workers.

Jackson and other Black Democratic and Republican politicians are beholden to big business first, and to the Black community last.

'Full Equality Now'

Like most organizations in the Black movement, the NAACP has relied heavily on courts and politicians to defend Black rights.

Nationally the NAACP is now waging more than fifty school desegregation legal battles. It has also filed many affirmative-action suits and is planning to file a friend-of-the-court brief in the *Bakke* case.

But this approach has not only proved inadequate, it has led even to a

certain myopia on the part of some NAACP spokespeople. Recent statements by NAACP leaders praising Griffin Bell for his stand in several school desegregation cases serve only to disarm the movement. So do statements praising HEW Secretary Califano's commitment to "goals," rather than quotas, for minority hiring and college admissions.

The same goes for a recent letter to the *New York Times* from top NAACP leaders Roy Wilkins, Gloster Current, and Nathaniel Jones praising UN Ambassador Andrew Young's attempts to help Carter cool down liberation struggles in southern Africa.

What is needed instead is a strategy based on the power of the Black masses themselves. A proposal for such a strategy is outlined in the statement of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), "Full Equality Now."

NSCAR correctly points out that when "Black organizations have applied a more militant strategy... they have begun to make a significant impact."

The statement notes the positive effect on the school desegregation struggle of the May 17, 1975, probusing March on Boston. NSCAR helped organize nationwide support for and participation in that demonstration called by the NAACP.

NSCAR also points to the initial actions of student activists in California against the *Bakke* decision and the growing protests there against the U.S. role in propping up racist regimes in southern Africa.

"What is needed now," says the statement, "is to generalize these actions, draw them together in a cohesive, coordinated movement to defend and extend our rights. The Black movement—from the major civil rights organizations to the Black union caucuses, Black women's organizations, community groups, student groups, and all supporters of our rights—must launch a national campaign for: FULL EQUALITY NOW!"

To organize such a response, NSCAR proposes a national conference of the Black movement to map a campaign of mass actions like those of the civil rights movement of the 1960s.

The NAACP could play a central role in drawing together the forces in the Black community needed to launch such an action campaign. With close to half-a-million members, it is the largest and most authoritative Black organization in this country.

A national conference of the Black community could address another pressing need of Black Americans: the need to break from the Democratic Party that helps perpetuate their oppression. Such a conference could organize the resources of the Black community to run Black candidates for office independent of and in opposition to both big-business parties.

Mounting a campaign both in the streets and in the political arena to defend Black rights: this is the challenge facing the incoming leadership of the NAACP.

Boston rally hails book on busing fight

By Lee Artz

BOSTON—As the fight for school desegregation continues to unfold across the country, many activists will look to the history of the busing fight in Boston for lessons.

With the publication of *The Battle of Boston* by Jon Hillson, Pathfinder Press has made those lessons available.

In recognition of this contribution to the struggle for Black rights, more than seventy-five people gathered here at a reception and rally to help promote the book.

"*The Battle of Boston*," said Phil Martin, news producer for WILD radio, "is an objective account of the desegregation fight here over the last two-and-a-half years."

"We should give this book to people. We should get it into the schools and classrooms and courses. We should try to get it into the libraries. . . . We can use this book as an example of the truth."

Speaking with Martin at the rally were: Rexford Weng, vice-president of the Massachusetts State AFL-CIO Labor Council; attorney Theodore Landsmark; Rev. Vernon Carter, a longtime civil rights activist; Brenda Franklin, Boston Student Coalition Against Racism; Maceo Dixon, former NSCAR national coordinator; and Hattie McCutcheon, Socialist Workers party candidate for Boston School Committee.

In addition Massachusetts State Rep. Elaine Noble sent greetings to the gathering.

Ted Landsmark was born in Harlem. He worked his way through Yale University, marched for civil rights in Selma, Alabama, and became a lawyer for Black construction workers in Boston. On April 5, 1976, he was brutally beaten by a mob of racist youth at Boston's Government Center.

"I lucked out," said Landsmark. "I was lucky enough to have a Pulitzer-Prize-winning photographer who had enough composure to keep his motorized Nikon going."

The photo of the attack on Landsmark appeared on the front pages of the world press during America's bicentennial. It showed a racist youth striking Landsmark in the face with a steel flag pole from which the American flag flew freely.

"No one talks about the other attacks on Blacks in this city. No one takes the photos," Landsmark said.

"That is why Hillson's book is so important. It puts the attack against me in its broader context of a wave of racist attacks against countless unsung heroes."

"The book shows the issue is still there, it just has less publicity."

"When there is a testimony to be made on ending segregation in this city I'll be there," said Reverend Carter.

Carter is well known here for a previous "testimony"—a march of ministers he led to the state house in 1965 in support of the Racial Imbal-

ance Act, the state law against segregation in the schools. Carter also picketed the school committee office for 114 days in 1965. And he still says, "I'm not tired of marching."

Hattie McCutcheon, the Socialist Workers party candidate for Boston School Committee, worked on NSCAR's national staff during the period covered in *The Battle of Boston*. She also worked with Detroit SCAR and the NAACP in the fight for school desegregation there.

"After reading Hillson's book," she said, "I'm even more convinced I should run for school committee as a socialist. The city government, the politicians—Democrats and Republicans—played leading roles in organizing the antibusing movement."

"Every time we relied on our so-called liberal friends, we got *nothing*! This book shows us once again that gains are the result of our own independent political action."

Jon Hillson, the author of *The Battle of Boston*, was a participant in the events. He was a leader of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, a member of the Crisis Intervention teams that assisted Black students in the schools, and a member of the Coordinated Social Services Council, a city-wide Black rights coalition set up during the desegregation fight.

"The fight for desegregation in Boston has seen the development of a whole new crop of young leaders," said Hillson, "who stood up and fought back. Some names we know, like Maceo Dixon. Some we don't, like the recent graduates from South Boston High who received a degree not in education but in bravery and courage. It is to them that my book was dedicated."

"The civil rights movement of the 1960s relied on direct action, visible mass demonstrations."

"But when the movement went from direct action to reliance on the Democratic party it traded its power for prestige and powerlessness. All deliberate speed in equality ground to a halt and Boston was in the middle of the gear box."

"From the first day of school in 1974, the antibusing movement has continued. Boston, the local issue, became a national test. It was Selma without the civil right movement. This isn't just a challenge to the [Judge Arthur] Garrity decision ordering school desegregation in Boston, it is a challenge to the [1954 Supreme Court] *Brown* decision outlawing school segregation—a challenge to all the gains of the Black struggle."

"As Malcolm X said, 'If something is yours by right, then fight for it!' We must rebuild the civil rights movement and say again, 'We shall not be moved!'"

'The Battle of Boston' can be purchased for \$3.95. See the Socialist Directory on page 31 for the nearest Pathfinder bookstore or write Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Join the fight against racism

The National Student Coalition Against Racism is building a movement to end U.S. complicity with racist regimes in southern Africa . . . to defend desegregation and busing in this country . . . to reverse the *Bakke* decision and defend affirmative-action programs . . . to defend victims of racist frame-ups . . . to oppose the death penalty. Become a part of that movement!

Please send me:

☐ A copy of the brochure "What is NSCAR?"

☐ _____ copies of the NSCAR statement *Full Equality Now*.

☐ _____ buttons "Defend Black Rights" (35¢ each); _____ buttons "No to Racism from Boston to South Africa" (50¢ each)

☐ Information about renting the film *There Is No Crisis*, a documentary about racism in South Africa, or the slide show *The Battle of Boston*.

☐ I want to join NSCAR. Enclosed is \$1.

☐ Enclosed is my contribution of \$_____.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

National Student Coalition Against Racism

220 Fifth Avenue, Room 808, New York, New York 10001
(212) 686-7020



(Clockwise from top left): Hattie McCutcheon, Theodore Landsmark, Jon Hillson, Brenda Franklin, Rev. Vernon Carter, Rexford Weng.

S. Africa protests commemorate Soweto

By Ernest Harsch
From Intercontinental Press

Tens of thousands of Blacks have participated in rallies, demonstrations, and strikes throughout South Africa in commemoration of the June 16, 1976, Soweto student protests that led to a massive upsurge against the hated apartheid regime.

They turned out in defiance of heavy government repression, in which at least ten Blacks have been killed, many more wounded, and hundreds arrested.

The memorial actions were called by the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC), which initiated many of the mass protests and strikes last

An editorial on this subject appears on page 10.



Defiant Soweto youths fleeing tear-gassed church during June 16 commemoration

year. To commemorate the hundreds of Blacks who were killed in the 1976 protests, the SSRC called a two-day strike, on June 16 and 17, of all Soweto high schools. It also appealed to Soweto's 320,000 workers, who commute daily to jobs in Johannesburg, to stay away from work.

In addition, leaflets issued by students in the Johannesburg and Pretoria areas called for a period of silence on June 16 from early in the morning until 9 a.m., the closing of all Soweto shops on June 16 and half of June 17, and the closing of all shebeens (beer

halls) from June 13 to June 19.

According to a report in the June 11 international edition of the *Johannesburg Star*, "Black pupils who have called for two days of mourning for those who died in last June's riots—have stressed they do not want vio-

lence."

As in the past, the racist white minority regime responded to these calls for peaceful protests with brutal force. On June 10, SSRC President Sechaba Montsitsi and at least twenty-five other student leaders were arrested. On June 15, one day before the beginning of the memorial actions, roadblocks were set up at all exits from Soweto, as armored vehicles, vans, and police cars began heavy patrols. Police using tear gas dispersed groups of students near three high schools. Maj. Gen. D.J. Kriel, the head of the riot police, warned that his men would not hesitate to shoot protesters.

The Johannesburg *World*, the largest circulation Black newspaper in South Africa, quoted witnesses as saying that on June 15 Philemon Tloane, a seventeen-year-old high-school student, was beaten to death by police dressed in camouflage uniforms. The police told reporters for the *World* who were at the scene, "Stay away. It's none of your business."

On the first day of the memorial protests, most Black schools in South Africa were shut down by the students. Although employers warned Black workers that they would not be paid for lost time, tens of thousands observed the SSRC strike call. According to figures released by companies in Johannesburg, the total of Black workers participating in the strike averaged around 40 percent.

While high schools were still vacant the next day, some of the striking workers reportedly returned to their jobs. Businesses claimed that the rate of absenteeism was about 20 percent.

Most of the memorial meetings in Black townships throughout the country were held as church services. In at least two cases in Soweto, police fired tear gas at the participants.

Robin Wright reported the reactions of demonstrators to these attacks in a June 16 dispatch to the *Washington Post*: "In Meadowlands sub-township [in Soweto], children stormed out of a church after the tear gas was thrown and marched on police vans and armored cars, singing the African nationalist anthem and raising clenched fists, the sign of black power."

Youths also set up roadblocks. Police fired into the protesters, wounding at least nine of them. According to local newspaper reports, which neither the police nor the hospital would confirm, two of the Blacks died from their wounds.

Unemployment

The heaviest repression unleashed during the commemorative actions was in the Black townships of Kabah and Kwanobuhle outside Uitenhage, which is near the industrial city of Port Elizabeth. On June 16, two Blacks were shot after a group of demonstrators were arrested for holding illegal rallies.

Thousands of Blacks expressed their opposition to the apartheid regime by attacking symbols of white supremacy. They burned down more than a dozen government offices and shops in the two townships and clashed with police units. Police fired into the crowds of protesters, killing at least six Blacks. Three others also died during the unrest, the police claiming that two of them had been killed in one of the fires.

More than 300 Blacks in Kabah and Kwanobuhle were arrested in police raids late on June 17. They were taken before special courts, tried on the spot on charges of rioting, and sentenced to public floggings.

According to a June 17 dispatch in the *New York Times*, rising unemployment in the Uitenhage area may have been a factor contributing to the intensity of the protests there. Kabah and Kwanobuhle house about 40,000 Blacks who work in the Port Elizabeth

U.S. actions mark Soweto anniversary

By Omari Musa

Picket lines, teach-ins, and rallies marked the first anniversary of the June 16, 1976, Soweto rebellion that shook the South African government.

In New York, the plight of South African political prisoners was the theme of a June 17 Soweto commemorative rally. More than 150 people viewed the film *There Is No Crisis* and listened to several exiled South Africans and to speakers from the Patrice Lumumba Coalition, Harlem Fightback, and National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR).

New York SCAR sponsored the rally. Endorsers included the Village-Chelsea NAACP, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Zimbabwe African National Union, and Minority Women's Task Force.

The day before the rally a news conference organized by the Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa expressed solidarity with Soweto.

Tony Austin, NSCAR national coordinator, scored U.S. complicity with the apartheid regime. "We raise questions on the validity of President Carter's so-called human rights campaign," Austin said.

"Is Carter truly for human rights everywhere, or only in those places where it's politically to his advantage? NSCAR says to Carter, and his front man Andrew Young, that the only way that self-determination can come about in South Africa is if the U.S. removes all its military, economic, and political obstacles to Black majority rule."

Elizabeth Sibeko of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania pointed to the "countless freedom fighters from Soweto and other Black townships that have been detained and jailed." She called upon "all of justice-loving mankind and indeed all revolutionary forces all over the world to mount a campaign to have these Azanian [South African] patriots released. . . ."

On June 18, 250 people picketed South African Airways in New York. The picket line and march was organized by the Pan-African Students Organization of the Americas (PASOA) and African Youth Movement. One demonstrator was arrested during the protest.

In Philadelphia, the March 26 Coalition Against Apartheid and United People's Campaign Against Apartheid and Racism cosponsored two events.

On June 16 sixty-five people attended a community meeting at Mount Olivet Tabernacle Baptist Church. Among the speakers were Godfrey Sithole of the African National Congress and Bob Perkins, a popular Black newscaster.

The following Saturday 150 people marched to the First Pennsylvania Bank chanting, "Remember the students of Soweto, end apartheid now!" and "Remember the students of Philadelphia, stop the cutbacks now!"

First Pennsylvania Bank has investments in South Africa and is spearheading school cutbacks in Philadelphia.

Across the continent in San Diego more than 100 people attended a teach-in on the freedom struggle in South Africa. San Diego SCAR sponsored the meeting, which was endorsed by more than fifty organizations

and individuals.

Speakers included Anthony Ngubo, a participant in the Sharpeville anti-pass-law demonstrations in March 1960; Bert Corona, a Chicano antideportation activist; Barnett Annar Saleem, SCAR; and Dr. Ron Karenga of the Afro-American studies department at San Diego State University.

The teach-in received greetings from Imam Daniel Adnen of the World Community of Islam in the West; Anthony González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council; and Rev. C. Thornhill of the Black Ministerial Alliance.

The investment policy of the Oakland, California, city council was the target of about eighty protesters June 16. The city council has invested almost \$17 million in city funds in U.S. corporations with holdings in South Africa.

In New Orleans, the June 16 Soweto Coalition organized a news conference and picket line in front of the South African consulate. Members of the NAACP Youth Council, SCAR, and American Civil Liberties Union participated.

Newark community, campus, and religious groups also organized a news conference to mark the Soweto anniversary.



Protesters picket South Africa consulate in New Orleans

Militant/Joel Aber

victims

auto plants, which have been severely hit by the current economic recession in South Africa. Port Elizabeth is known as "Little Detroit" because of the concentration of American-owned auto companies there.

The Vorster regime, which tries to present Blacks with an image of white unity and strength, also took steps to halt memorial actions by white students in solidarity with the Black struggle. Minister of Justice, Police, and Prisons James T. Kruger banned a rally at the all-white University of the Witwatersrand that was scheduled to be held at noon on June 16. He said that it was "not in the best interests" of stability for white students to express sympathy for Blacks.

The students held the rally anyway, planning to conclude it before noon, when the banning order was to come into effect. Clashes took place when racist white students attacked the rally, smashing crosses erected in memory of the Soweto martyrs, pouring gasoline over them, and setting them on fire.

Militancy deepening

After a year of stepped-up efforts to crush Black dissent, the June 16 memorial actions testify to the continued combativity of South Africa's Black population, especially its youth. They reaffirm the strength of the South African freedom struggle, which emerged on a massive scale during last year's protests.

While the student movement in Soweto has lost many of its leaders, it survives as an organized force and continues to wield considerable influence over the township's more than one million inhabitants. This was reflected in the February student demonstrations against the regime's discriminatory Bantu Education policy, and in the April protests against steep rent hikes, which the government was forced to postpone.

In fact, the regime's determination to press forward with its white-supremacist policies has only heightened the militancy of the Black population as a whole.

One indication of this was the resignation in early June of the Soweto Urban Bantu Council (UBC), a largely powerless advisory body set up by the regime and staffed by Blacks. All thirty-three members of the UBC resigned under pressure from the SSRC and Black adults, who had denounced them as government stooges.

In a June 15 dispatch from Soweto, *Washington Post* correspondent Robin Wright said:

The implications of this spreading discontent among blacks of all ages brings the possibility of wide-scale trouble ever closer. . . .

Dissidence among Soweto's adults could lead to what the government fears most: a labor boycott that would cripple this country's troubled economy.

The determination of the Black student movement to continue its active opposition to the Vorster regime's apartheid policies, particularly in the field of education, was expressed June 17 by Tromfomo Sono, who became the new president of the SSRC after Sechaba Montsitsi's arrest. A statement issued by Sono said that Black youths "are going to fight our main enemy—Bantu education—as long as it frustrates our educational aspirations."

This mood of militancy has also been reflected in the pages of the *Johannesburg World*, which has frequently counseled Black youths to exercise more "restraint." One June 19, the Black newspaper declared, "We say to the Government and the whites in general, your choice is simple. Either abandon all your privileges now and submit yourselves to majority rule in nonracial society, or face certain destruction in the future."

Ruling slows Cleveland school desegregation plan

By Kathleen Fitzgerald

CLEVELAND—Federal Judge Frank Battisti ruled May 27 that Cleveland schools don't have to completely desegregate by September 1977, the deadline he had originally set.

Although some schools will be desegregated this fall, Battisti set no new deadline for complete desegregation.

Battisti's decision let the school board continue the footdragging that has been its response since the desegregation order was handed down in August 1976.

The August decision, in response to a suit filed by the NAACP, found that the school board had segregated public schools for thirty years.

Last December, Battisti set down guidelines for desegregation this fall.

But the board, despite its promises to "follow the law no matter how difficult," used every stall tactic and obstruction it could think of.

Battisti conceded all this in his latest decision.

For example, the judge found that the board had deliberately fouled up the process of planning busing by "extremely costly proposals to buy fleets of buses prior to obtaining accurate data on the number of chil-

dren to be transported or the costs of equipment and facilities that might become necessary."

Battisti also noted that the board had failed to take any actions to prepare the Cleveland community for school desegregation.

However, rather than force the board to follow his ruling, Battisti gave in and allowed further delay.

Another factor that undoubtedly influenced Battisti's decision is the absence of a visible probusing voice from Cleveland's Black community. Although the NAACP filed the lawsuit that won the desegregation order, it hasn't done much to mobilize sentiment behind the ruling.

In addition, much confusion has been created by the statements of Arnold Pinkney, the sole Black school board member and a former Democratic Party mayoral aspirant.

Pinkney said last March that he would send his daughter to a private school rather than let her transfer from the all-Black school she now attends to an integrated school.

Many Black parents also fear an outbreak of antibusing violence, such as happened in Boston and Louisville.

This fear is not without a basis. Encouraged by the school board's intransigence, racists have been active. Two local antibusing groups have ties to ROAR, the Boston group that led violent attacks on Black students at desegregated schools.

U.S. Rep. Ronald Mottl, a Cleveland Democrat, has become a leader in the effort to push through a constitutional amendment against busing. Attempts have been made to circulate the petition in local steel and auto plants here.

Nathaniel Jones, NAACP general counsel, hit Battisti's ruling, noting that it violated U.S. Supreme Court mandates for immediate desegregation.

The Greater Cleveland Project, a coalition of prodesegregation forces, is organizing a public hearing June 28 to be conducted by Daniel McCarthy, a special master appointed by Battisti to oversee the desegregation plan.

Alyson Kennedy, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland, denounced Battisti's ruling and called for full school desegregation in September. She said this was the only way to ensure "equal, quality education for Blacks in this city."

Judge: UC could have won 'Bakke'

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The California Supreme Court judge who wrote the decision in the *Bakke* affirmative-action case has conceded the outcome might have been different if the University of California had admitted past discrimination.

If UC had, Justice Stanley Mosk said in a June 8 television interview, the court would have decided the case on different legal grounds.

The California court ruled last September that a special admissions program at the UC Davis Medical School constituted reverse discrimination. The court acted on a suit by Allan Bakke, a white who claimed he was denied admission in favor of less qualified applicants. An appeal is now being considered by the U.S. Supreme Court.

In defending the special admissions programs, the university limited its argument to a claimed desire to increase minority enrollment. It refused to acknowledge any past discrimination.

On the basis of the university's defense, Justice Mosk said, the case was decided in favor of Bakke on Fourteenth Amendment grounds of equal protection under the law.

But, Mosk added, if previous discrimination had been admitted, the case would have been considered on the basis of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Under Title VII of the act, he explained, "minorities are entitled to a preference if they have previously been discriminated against in employment." An analogy can be made between employment and school admission, Mosk said.

In its present brief to the U.S. Supreme Court, UC attorneys admit that until the late 1960s, school admission standards nationally served to virtually exclude minorities. But they

still won't concede that this constituted discrimination.

Mosk's admission gives added weight to the charge by civil rights groups and others that the university deliberately presented a weak case, hoping to lose.

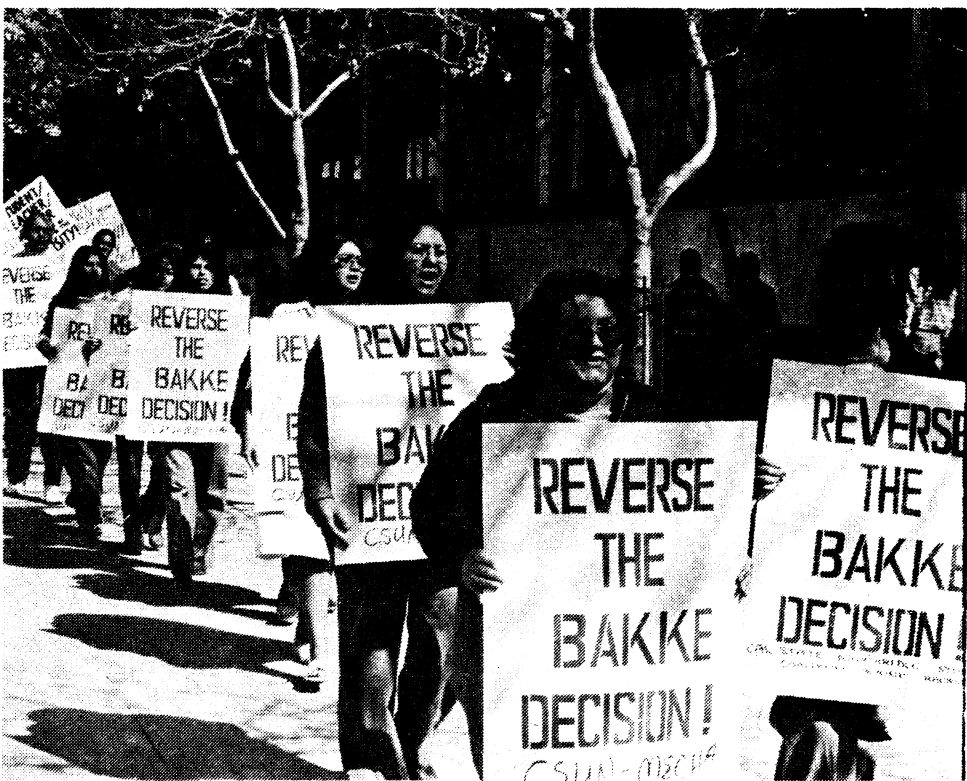
Mosk also sought to defend the ruling that he wrote, arguing that if the university instituted special admissions for the "disadvantaged," it would give "plenty of leeway" for admitting minorities.

Statistics show the opposite. Even with such programs, more poor whites get in than poor Black or Brown applicants. This is even conceded by the University of California. Its pres-

ent brief cites a study by the Association of American Medical Colleges showing that in 1976, 71 percent of the applicants from families with incomes under \$10,000 were white, and only 29 percent from minorities.

Adoption of a "racially 'neutral' disadvantaged approach," the UC brief said, "would do little more than substitute less affluent whites for more affluent whites."

Besides, if present preferential programs can be voided as "reverse race discrimination," wouldn't the courts next strike down "reverse class discrimination"? The next Allan Bakke would argue he was victimized for being rich.



'Bakke' decision protest, Los Angeles

Election in Spain

The outcome of the June 15 election in Spain points to one inescapable conclusion: after forty years of Francoism, the masses are determined to wipe out every vestige of totalitarianism.

The main neo-Francoist party received a humiliating 8.3 percent of the vote. The workers parties, which have been able to function openly for less than six months, received well over 40 percent.

Those who voted for the workers parties—including the bulk of the working class—see that as long as Spain is run for the benefit of a tiny clique of bankers and big businessmen, all democratic rights will be restricted and endangered.

The social-democratic Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE—Spanish Socialist Workers Party)—even though it proposes reforming, not abolishing, capitalism—adapted to this mass sentiment by adopting as its central campaign slogan, “Socialism is liberty.” Campaigning around this idea, the PSOE won nearly a third of the votes.

A new stage has opened in Spain marked by a growing radicalization of working people and all the oppressed. It is a stage of growing consciousness among the masses that the solutions to all their economic, social, and political problems lie not in capitalism—either in Francoist or “democratic” garb—but in socialism.

Congress & quotas

In addition to voting last week to ban Medicaid funds for abortions and bar government sanctions against segregated school districts, the House of Representatives voted to prohibit the use of federal funds to enforce affirmative-action quotas.

This measure dealt a severe blow to women and oppressed minorities. It lent official credence to the false argument that quotas create “reverse discrimination.”

Arguing for passage of the anti-quota amendment, Rep. Robert Walker said, “The issue here is really whether you are pro-quota or anti-quota. Goals, timetables, whatever you call them, are really quotas, and they are discriminatory.”

The House amendment follows a series of court rulings weakening affirmative-action programs. It emboldens the foes of full equality for minorities and women.

Next fall the Supreme Court will review the *Bakke* case, a California court decision striking down a special admissions program for minorities in the University of California system. The House vote underscores the need for a powerful response by supporters of affirmative action to ensure that the reactionary *Bakke* ruling is reversed.

Soweto, 1977

Despite arrests, murders, and other police-state repression, the protests last week in South Africa showed that opposition among Blacks to the white minority regime is still growing.

This militancy was even reflected in the usually “moderate” Black-oriented Johannesburg *World*: “We say to the Government and the whites in general, your choice is simple. Either abandon all your privileges now and submit yourselves to majority rule in a nonracial society, or face certain destruction in the future.”

The Carter administration, with UN Ambassador Andrew Young in the lead, is trying to convince the American people—especially Blacks—that it has a “new Africa policy.” But behind its facade of lies, Washington’s policy remains the same—to protect the profitable investments of U.S. corporations in South Africa.

The demonstrations in Soweto and other Black townships should serve to rededicate supporters of African liberation in this country to continue organizing a broad, united movement to demand:

End U.S. complicity with apartheid!

Freedom for all South African political prisoners!

Black majority rule now!

Sales drive

I'd like to add a few points to Nelson Blackstock's article, “Drive marks gains in sales” (*Militant*, June 17). Readers may be interested to know that the Revolutionary Marxist Committee, a Detroit-based Trotskyist organization, worked on the drive in its last seven weeks and sold a total of 1,284 copies. These were sold mostly in Detroit's Black working-class neighborhoods and at automobile and steel factory gates. That's an average of about 183 per issue.

I think that this information confirms the main point of Blackstock's article—that one of the big gains of the sales drive was that it established regular, weekly sales to factory workers.

Al Vargas
Detroit, Michigan

From a skeptic

I find the *Militant* stimulating, invigorating, and informative most of the time, and I look forward to it each week.

Being a skeptic, however, I am compelled to question an article that appeared in the June 10 issue, called “Schools don't do well by Latinos.”

I read this article to see if it was about discrimination against Latinos by the educational system. Instead, I read of reports not based on empirical data.

The article reported a study that claimed to find that whites learned considerably more in school than Latinos, who in turn learned more than Blacks. Your article said the study made no attempt to explain the “disparity” in achievement levels, except to note that Latino students were handicapped by having only a rudimentary knowledge of English.

This single fact in the study itself gives a clear basis to refute it and show that it is without any merit.

Sheer reason and logic alone dictate that anyone who speaks English would surpass anyone who has only a rudimentary knowledge of it.

It is therefore obvious that Black students would automatically do better than Latinos.

This study is another fabrication, bent upon destroying the solidarity of the people with these games of “inferiority” and “superiority.”

A prisoner
Pennsylvania

Safe nukes?

I take issue with the *Militant's* opposition to nuclear power.

Surely you realize that human progress requires energy. Fossil fuels have a lot of drawbacks, not the least of which is their finite nature. There exists considerable difference of opinion as to how much fossil fuels we have left. But it seems prudent to me to develop other sources of energy now, before the arrival of any impending shortage.

I agree that the ruling class has exploited the impending energy shortage to boost its profits. I also agree that we cannot trust capitalists to incorporate the proper safeguards in nuclear power reactors, as this might reduce their profits.

However, we must not close our minds completely to the concept of nuclear power. Managed properly, with the best interests of working people in mind, nuclear power could be a great aid in advancing the human condition. Our machinery requires energy to run, and to deny it that energy would be the

equivalent of advocating a return to the Middle Ages.

Instead of condemning nuclear power per se, I would like to see you condemn only the unsafe practices used by greedy capitalists in their blind lust for money. Benevolently managed, nuclear power has the potential to fuel an advance of the human condition that has never before been seen.

C.W.
Marysville, California

[Editor's note—The *Militant* will soon begin a series on nuclear power and the battle over its use.]

SWP in the news

I happened to catch the ABC network news program “AM America” on Tuesday, June 14. The lead story was a very positive report on the large gay rights march in Los Angeles the previous evening. The reporter pointed out that this was the largest civil rights demonstration in Los Angeles in a number of years.

Readers of the *Militant* will be interested in hearing that the film of the march featured a large banner with the slogan “Equal Rights For Gays” from the Socialist Workers Party. The ABC reporter said the march was built by a “coalition of gay rights, lesbian groups, and Socialist Workers.”

Along the same lines, the June 20 issue of *Newsweek* magazine carries a picture of New York demonstrators against the defeat of the Miami referendum. The placard in the center reads: “Full Rights for Gays, Socialist Workers Party.”

Matilde Zimmermann
New York, New York

Gay rights

I believe everyone should be concerned at the future implications of the defeat in Dade County of a gay rights referendum. It seems to me that Anita Bryant's claim that her concern was moral or religious, and not political, has turned out to be false.

I believe the Constitution guarantees equal rights for all. I have not read anywhere that it excluded homosexuals.

The Miami vote sets a dangerous precedent for future laws concerning human rights. If a future law tells gays where they can and can't live, work, and not work, maybe after that there will be a law that says they can't live. Do Americans really understand what this could lead to?

Who would be next?

I wish the government would mail a copy of the Constitution to every American, so we could all be reminded of what this country is supposed to stand for.

W.L.
Clinton, Massachusetts

'Urban renewal'?

Recently, one of the local daily papers ran a big feature article on Detroit's Renaissance Center, the vast “downtown renewal project” that cost \$337 million and resulted not in better housing for Detroit's working people, but in a seventy-three-story hotel, four thirty-nine-story office towers, expensive restaurants and bars, and a shopping mall.

This appears to have been the most ambitious of the “central-city renewal projects” that have become so popular

The American Way of Life

of late. What they do is wipe out the poorest sections of the downtown slums and replace them with an upper-middle-class paradise, an enclave for the wealthy.

These projects—carried out, of course, with the aid of Democratic Party Mayor Coleman Young and his ilk—are related to another phenomenon: the failure of Black-owned business and the gutting of services in the Black community.

For example, here in Milwaukee the only Black-owned hospital collapsed and isn't even able to pay its employees. Over the last year or so, several important chain stores have closed and moved out to the white areas. They have been either left vacant or replaced by small-scale, poorly stocked, high-priced local businesses. The result is that it is impossible to shop in the Black community.

This shows that the capitalists are totally and unalterably oriented to the further development and comfort of only themselves. It also shows that a decent life for the poor is impossible, not only because of low income, but because capitalism will withdraw goods and services from the areas too poor to provide their high profits.

Bob Schwarz
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

More on Nyden

Since your "In Brief" item on the reinstatement of Prof. Paul Nyden by the University of Pittsburgh (*Militant*, June 24), Nyden has been fired again. According to the June 16 *Daily World*, newspaper of the Communist Party, Pitt Chancellor Wesley Posvar reversed the school's earlier decision giving Nyden a fifteen-month contract.

Pitt's initial decision to reinstate Nyden was a victory for democratic rights, since Pitt's big-business-dominated trustees had tried to deny him tenure because of his activities in the radical movement. The reversal is another setback in the fight to force Pitt to end this political witch-hunt.

Nonetheless, I disagreed with the "In Brief" item's description of Nyden as "prolabor" and a "Marxist."

I worked with Nyden in coalition activities in support of the United Mine Workers several years ago in Pittsburgh. He may be prolabor in his sentiments, but his actions were sectarian and bureaucratic, and thus antilabor in their effects. It's understandable that the Stalinist *Daily World* would portray him as prolabor with no reservations, since his politics tend to follow theirs. And these politics are definitely not Marxist.

Whatever Nyden's views, though, Pitt's attacks on him could encourage it to purge other radical staff and victimize radical students. The effort to defend Nyden's rights, although weakened by the exclusionary policies of its organizers, deserves the support of *Militant* readers.

Fred Stanton
New York, New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

No rest for the wicked?

On the fifth anniversary of the Watergate break-in, numerous stories have appeared in the news media discussing different aspects of that scandal.

One of the most interesting appeared in the June 17 *New York Times*. Headlined "Figures in Watergate Cover-Up; Where They Are 5 Years Later," the article gives thumbnail accounts of the careers of Watergate conspirators following Nixon's downfall.

Unintentionally, the article reveals a lot about American "justice."

Jeb Stuart Magruder, for example, the former deputy-director of Nixon's reelection committee, pleaded guilty to obstruction of justice for his role in covering up the break-in at the Democratic Party National Committee headquarters in the Watergate hotel-office complex.

Today, Magruder—having served seven months in an Allenwood, Pennsylvania, prison—is an executive with Young Life, a Christian organization that works with teen-agers.

Dwight Chapin, Nixon's appointments secretary, was convicted of perjury. He served seven months and twenty-two days in prison.

Currently, Chapin is employed by Chicago millionaire Clement Stone as president and publisher of

Stone's magazine. The mag is called—are you ready?—*Success Unlimited*.

Some Watergate figures are still in prison. John Ehrlichman, for instance, is doing time at Swift Trail Federal Prison Camp in Stafford, Arizona. The camp is known among many of its inmates as "The Country Club."

Personally, my favorite "where are they now" case is Virgilio González. González was one of the original team of Watergate burglars. After serving about eight months in various prisons, he was released on March 7, 1974.

He's now a locksmith in Hialeah, Florida.

As for the others, there were executives, lecturers, two city sanitation inspectors, an automobile salesperson (the article doesn't say if he sells used cars), and other occupations.

Then I spotted an "unemployed." Quickly, I looked to see which of the Watergate criminals it was.

It wasn't any of them.

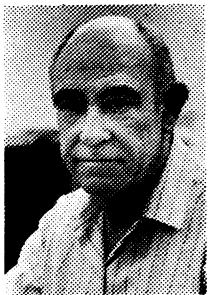
It was Frank Wills, the twenty-nine-year-old Black security guard who discovered the burglars in the Watergate on June 17, 1972.

That's justice the American way.

—Peter Archer

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Hucksters and bureaucrats

Advertising is a parasitic industry. It helps big business boost its profits by pushing worthless products that most people don't need and can't use. In this way, unwary buyers are robbed of millions of dollars every day.

The promotion of social causes is (or ought to be) the opposite of such commercial hucksterism, even though the techniques of modern advertising are sometimes used. The ostensible purpose here is to expand knowledge, improve the condition of life, or expose injustice.

There are instances, however, when what is advertised as a worthy cause carries the imprint of the huckster. A case in point is the promotional campaign of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU).

On the surface, the aim of this campaign is to popularize the union label, to convince consumers to buy union-made garments. As a means of organizing workers against union-busting employers, this would be a worthwhile cause.

The ILGWU has spent more than \$4 million on it in less than two years, mostly for TV spots featuring a chorus singing, "Looking for the Union Label."

Behind this expensive campaign, however, is the joint effort of the garment industry and ILGWU to win trade quotas on clothing imports. Foreign-made apparel for women and children has captured 31 percent of the U.S. market. There are fewer jobs, and the union membership has dropped to 365,000, a loss of 63,000 in the past three years.

Wages for garment workers have also declined. The ILGWU is a piecework union. Many workers in New York sweatshops earn below the \$2.30 federal minimum wage.

Still, union and industry officials complain that U.S. manufacturers cannot compete with the lower wages of workers in Taiwan, South Korea, and Hong Kong where most imports are produced.

So the ILGWU's union label ads are just another form of the familiar "Buy American" campaign. They aim to protect domestic industry against foreign competition, thus ensuring them high prices and profits. The theory is that the workers will benefit from the prosperity of their employers.

But the solution to joblessness in the U.S. garment industry is not to put workers overseas out of work. Whatever effect the ILGWU's expensive ad campaign has on the garment market is sure to benefit American

employers, not workers.

Another example is a series of ads by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. These ads appeal to humanitarian instincts against drastic cuts in social services. They have appeared recently in the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, and other metropolitan dailies, as well as the *New York Review of Books*, *New Republic*, and similar weekly or biweekly publications.

Unlike the narrow profit-oriented campaign of the garment union, AFSCME's promotional effort is more high-minded. It seeks to engage readers in reasonable argument about the cutbacks and their cost in human suffering. "Politicians keep saying they have to cut spending until it hurts. It hurts," says one ad.

In another, this one a slick three-quarter page display in the Sunday *New York Times*, the union warns that "human suffering won't go away by ignoring it. Or by blaming the people who work in nursing homes, daycare centers, or mental hospitals.

"Our union represents these workers," says AFSCME, "so we know what the politicians are ignoring. Our goal is to open your eyes."

The central slogan of the AFSCME ad campaign is: "The business of government is people." Signed Jerry Wurf, president.

What is the real purpose of these publicity efforts? In both the ILGWU and AFSCME campaigns, the motivation is political.

The garment union wants to persuade the Carter administration (flatteringly described by its president Sol Chaikin as "a breath of pure spring air") to curb low-priced imports and accept a federal minimum wage somewhat higher than \$2.50 an hour.

AFSCME seems to be appealing for more public funds from its Democratic Party "friends" in Congress. Having failed in private lobbying, it now appeals publicly.

Top officials in both unions are worried about their public image. They are trying to remind all who will watch and read that they are pretty good fellows after all. They are anxious to again become part of what they call "the main-stream of American politics." In this way—they hope—they can reverse the strong antiunion current churned up by the employing class.

Neither workers nor employers are much impressed. Who gains?

The advertising industry is picking up a few million dollars.

Miners reject Boyle holdover

Miller wins UMWA race, faces contract battle

By Nancy Cole

Arnold Miller has won a second five-year term as president of the 277,000-member United Mine Workers of America.

Although the votes won't be officially counted until July 1, the latest figures from the *United Mine Workers Journal* credit Miller with 56,500, 40 percent of the total; Lee Roy Patterson with 45,700, 32 percent; and Harry Patrick with 38,500, 27 percent.

Thus Patterson—who clearly represented the remnants of the dictatorial Tony Boyle machine—was defeated by a two-thirds margin.

In 1972 Miller and Patrick ran together on the reform Miners for Democracy slate that succeeded in ousting Boyle. Patrick, the union's secretary-treasurer, broke with Miller this year to run his own campaign for the union's presidency. He charged Miller is "incapable" of leading the UMWA.

At a post-election news conference in Charleston, West Virginia, Miller appealed to his opponents, saying, "It is time now for wounds to be healed by all on the losing side in this democratic election. They should come forth and recognize who the enemy is, which is the mine operators."

"I have not been unduly critical of anyone that opposed me. That is one

thing that is new in this union. We do not stifle dissent, we encourage it."

Patrick conceded defeat and said he would return to his job in the mines. He called for all factions in the union to united behind Miller in the upcoming contract negotiations.

Patterson, on the other hand, charged the election was "stolen" from him and is considering a challenge.

According to the *Wall Street Journal*, a high-level campaign worker for Patterson said, "We're going to gather our troops and mount a counter-attack. This election is far from over."

The election appeal is decided by the twenty-one-member executive board, the majority of which has consistently sided with Patterson against the Miller administration.

Such a challenge could throw a wrench into contract negotiations and undercut Miller's pledge to press for "immediate" talks with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA).

The contract expires December 6. Last year's UMWA convention decided to move the election up from November to June to allow the newly elected president to do the bargaining.

The central issue in negotiations is expected to be a right-to-strike clause, mandated by the last union convention and widely supported in the UMWA

ranks. All three candidates in the race for union president were forced to support—verbally at least—local unions' right to strike, providing the majority votes for it.

Miller repeated his promise to fight for a "limited right to strike" at his June 15 news conference.

For their part, the mineowners have shown bitter opposition to any hint of a contractual right to strike. They see it as a go-ahead for "unruly" miners and wildcat strikes that have—as they so frequently put it—plagued the industry.

President Carter's energy plan calling for stepped-up coal production has handed to coal operators a license to move against the UMWA and to haul in record profits—all in the name of patriotism.

A preview of what miners can expect this fall in the battle with their bosses came June 20 when the UMWA health and retirement trust fund announced a series of health benefit cuts, the first in a decade.

The fund is financed by payments from the companies based on each hour UMWA miners work and each ton of coal mined. When there are work stoppages, payments are halted.

The BCOA's trustee on the fund's board—one of three who administer the fund—refused to support Miller's request for fund reallocation to avoid the cut in benefits. "To reallocate now would be to ask the industry to subsidize and condone wildcat strikes," the BCOA said.

It's just this company indifference to the health and safety of miners that provoked the wildcats to begin with. Miller warned that this cut in benefits might itself spark a new wave of walkouts.

Thus, the election results seem to have had little impact on the confrontation brewing for when the contract expires.

The *New York Times* and other voices of big business are still talking about the "disintegration" and "shambles" of the UMWA.

And the miners, younger and more militant, continue to resist taming.

The election did show one thing. While the reform leadership did not inspire great confidence, the majority of miners want nothing to do with the old days when their discontent with mine conditions and union leaders was thoroughly stifled.

...and in Patterson's corner

Shortly before the United Mine Workers election, news media revealed that top bureaucrats of the United Steelworkers were funneling thousands of dollars to right-wing candidate Lee Roy Patterson. At the same time, Patterson also picked up support from a noteworthy—if less weighty—source.

"Drive out Miller-Patrick! Stop government intervention in the UMWA! Vote Patterson on June 14!" was the headline of the June 7 *Bulletin*, "Twice-Weekly Organ of the Central Committee of the Workers League."

The Workers League is a small group of U.S. followers of British sectarian Gerry Healy. The group mistakenly calls itself Trotskyist.

The *Bulletin* asserts that "the decisive question in the June 14 election is purging the union of the arch-collaborators with the government, president Arnold Miller and secretary-treasurer Harry Patrick. The government has used the so-called reform leadership to get its foot in the door."

Like the steel union bureaucrats, the Healyites consider rank-and-file unionists who use the courts to press for honest elections to be outsiders and a menace. Union democracy is "a bogus issue," the *Bulletin* says.

Thus the Healyites see the Miners for Democracy movement that ousted the corrupt Tony Boyle dictatorship in 1972 as a government plot "to push Boyle out and draft a tame leadership."

From their offices in New York, the *Bulletin* editors discerned that the reform UMWA leadership had earned "overwhelming hatred among the rank and file."

What the Healyites will say about the coal miners' overwhelming rejection of Patterson, and his plans to contest the election, remains to be seen. But their reactionary stand on the election surely is a milestone in the degeneration of this political sect.



Miller (left) will have to contend with young, militant miners who want right-to-strike clause in next contract.

Socialist team sells 128 subs

West Virginia miners: 'We're all militants'

By Ed Heisler

During the first two weeks in June, a team of five socialists sold subscriptions and single copies of the *Militant* to coal miners in northern West Virginia and southwestern Pennsylvania.

A total of 128 miners signed up at nine different mines as new subscribers. Another 100 bought single copies. Those who didn't have any cash handy, but wanted to read the paper, were given sample copies along with subscription blanks to send in later.

Team members Joyce Stoller, Marc Strumpf, Steve Bride, George Dolph, and myself found that miners were interested in checking out a socialist newspaper. Many who bought the *Militant* carefully looked over page after page of articles before they decided to buy.

The only problem we ran into was with the bosses. They didn't like the

Militant. Several times supervisors ordered the team to leave coal company parking lots after miners walked into the bathhouse carrying copies of the paper.

At one mine as the company superintendent approached us a miner said to me, "Look out, here comes the super . . . he don't like you selling this kind of paper here."

One time a member of the United Mine Workers asked one of us if we had permission from the union to sell the *Militant* there. The team member explained that while no one from the union had ever objected, at some mines the operators ordered us to leave. That was good enough for him, and he told us to go ahead and sell.

A couple of mine foremen almost apologetically refused to buy the *Militant* because they were "company men" and weren't supposed to read that kind of literature.

The miners reacted differently. One pulled out a buck for a subscription, saying, "I like this kind of stuff. You can't get this kind of news on TV."

We pointed out in our discussions that you can't get a prolabor point of view from TV or newspapers because the news media are controlled by the coal operators and other big business interests.

Many miners readily agreed. They were not afraid of the words "militant," "radical," or "socialist." They hardly raised an eyebrow when team members explained that the *Militant* is a socialist newsweekly.

Steve Bride began his sales pitch by introducing himself as a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

"I'm a radical. I always raise hell with the company. If your paper tells the truth, I'll like it," one man said and then bought a subscription.

Bride was asked by a miner what

paper he was selling. When he answered, the miner countered, "I'm no militant."

Another miner standing next to him said, "Yes you are."

The first hesitated and then said, "I guess I am. We all are." He bought a subscription after looking the paper over.

Joyce Stoller sold a subscription to a woman coal miner who had filed a sex discrimination suit to get her job in the mines. "I'm no women's libber," she said, "but I've had to fight for everything I've gotten."

In addition to selling at coal mine parking lots, the team did door-to-door subscription work in the Black community in Morgantown and in the small, predominantly Black coal-mining community of Osage, West Virginia. Most of those who were home either brought a subscription or single copy.

Fight Back activist in Mich. steel local race

By Paula Reimers

DETROIT—Eric Glatz, a twenty-eight-year-old worker in the melt shop at McLouth Steel in Trenton, Michigan, is running for vice-president of United Steelworkers Local 2659.

Glatz is the candidate of the Steelworkers Fight Back activists at McLouth Steel, the third-largest local in District 29 (Michigan and northern Ohio). He was a leading campaigner for Ed Sadlowski in last February's international union elections.

The special election at McLouth was called when local President Jim Hughes was given a post on the international staff right after the elections. Hughes had earlier run his own campaign for local president as an opponent of the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement. But he supported administration candidate Lloyd McBride and the ENA in the February elections.

After Hughes got his reward, the previous vice-president moved up to become president, and a new vice-president will be elected June 29.

Seven candidates are running. The incumbent local leadership appears divided and has not stated a choice.

Glatz is campaigning on three major issues. First is union democracy, from the international down to the local level.

Second is the need for the union to defend affirmative action in hiring Blacks, Chicanos, and women. Glatz says the union should champion the demands of those workers who are at the bottom of the ladder in wages, conditions, and job opportunities.

He also calls for formation of a women's committee "to lead the union's fight against sex discrimination, and to put a halt to sexist practices in our own union."

Asked whether he is campaigning only for "special interests," Glatz replies: "If you add up the members who have these special interests, young workers, women, Blacks, Chicanos, etc., you find they are the majority of the membership. But there is more

to it than simply numbers.

"By fighting for these 'special interests' we strengthen the union in the fight for everyone's interests. I don't believe in the 'trickle down' idea that if you get some things for the guy at the top, it 'trickles down' to the guy on the bottom. We have to start fixing things from the bottom up."

The third major plank of Glatz's campaign is the demand for local jurisdiction over all safety questions in the plant, backed up with the unconditional right to shut down unsafe jobs with no penalty for the workers. Glatz calls for the election of the safety committee chairperson to make that position more responsive to the membership and to remove it from union hall patronage.

On union democracy Glatz says: "Our union is only as strong as our members make it. The officers at the local and district office don't go through the same kind of hell as the members do in the mill. They soon forget that they are supposed to be our representatives when we have a *fight* with the company. They start to think of themselves as *mediators* between us and the company."

"We don't need *mediators*, we need *fighters*. And the way to make sure that the fighters keep fighting is to remind them who is boss in the union. The boss should be the membership. . . .

"Democracy . . . is more than just watchdogging the officials. It is using the concerted power of the membership as a whole to defend ourselves against the company."

The ideas Glatz is raising have found support in all departments and on all shifts. The "Glatz for Vice President" and "Fight Back" stickers on hard hats all over the plant testify to this support.

For copies of Glatz's campaign literature and the latest *District 29 Fight Back* newsletter, or to make a contribution, write to Steelworkers Fight Back, Box 633, Wyandotte, Michigan 48192.

Tribute meeting recalls Rosenberg deaths

By Cliff Conner

NEW YORK—Some 500 people gathered here June 16 to demonstrate that the infamous frame-up and execution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg has not been forgotten.

The Rosenbergs were put to death on June 19, 1953. Charged with stealing secret atom-bomb plans on behalf of the Soviet Union, they were victims of a hysterical anticommunist witch-hunt.

Since 1974 the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case (NCRRC) has organized around a Freedom of Information lawsuit to force the government to release all its files on the Rosenberg frame-up.

Judge Bruce Wright chaired the meeting. Black comedian and activist Dick Gregory spoke. Helen Sobell, wife of Rosenberg codefendant Morton Sobell, compared that frame-up to similar cases of political repression today. She called special attention to the grand jury witch-hunt against Puerto Rican independence supporters who are being indiscriminately labeled "terrorists."

"Terrorism is used to smear political dissidents in the same way communism was used in the 1950s," Sobell pointed out.

Michael Meeropol, the Rosenbergs' son, explained the importance of exposing the truth about the 1950s case. It is not just a matter of clearing the name of the Rosenbergs, he said, but of challenging the right of the government to keep its crimes and frame-ups secret.

"If they can't keep their crimes secret," Meeropol said, "they can't commit those crimes."

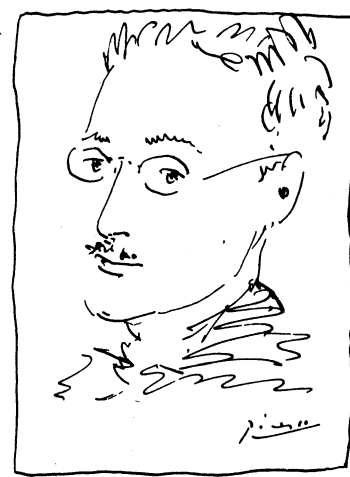
Messages of solidarity from a broad range of organizations and individuals were printed in the memorial's program. These included the National Coalition Against the Death Penalty, Puerto Rico Solidarity Committee, Wilmington Ten Defense Committee, National Lawyers Guild, Socialist Workers Party, Grand Jury Project, National Conference of Black Lawyers, Rep. John Conyers, William Kunstler, David Dellinger, Paul Sweezy, Bella Abzug, and Martin Sostre.

The day after the rally the NCRRC organized a noon picket line of some seventy-five people at the federal courthouse at New York's Foley Square. Protesters demanded the release of all government files on the Rosenberg case and an end to Rosenberg-like frame-ups today.

The Foley Square location held triple significance for the protesters. It was the site of the Rosenberg trial in 1951. It is the courthouse where Judge Irving Kaufman, who presided over the Rosenberg trial and sentenced them to death, now heads up the Second Circuit Court of Appeals.

And, finally, Foley Square is where the grand jury witch-hunt of the Puerto Rican nationalist movement is being staged.

For more information about the Rosenberg case, write the NCRRC, 853 Broadway, Eleventh Floor, New York, New York 10003.



Steel notes...

CLEVELAND SMALL SHOPS MEET: Twenty-five steelworkers from eight Cleveland-area locals of the United Steelworkers met June 12 to discuss their common problems as workers in small shops. The meeting was chaired by Bill Waller, recording secretary and chief grievanceperson of Local 14613. Six other members of Local 14613, including President Joe Hiltner, attended the meeting.

The Cleveland steelworkers heard a report from Chuck Leonard and Mark Zola, two leaders of a committee of small shops in USWA District 20 near Pittsburgh. Zola, editor of the group's newsletter, explained how members of small locals had come together as supporters of Ed Sadlowski's campaign. After the February election, he said, they felt it would be useful to continue their collaboration. The Sub-District 4 Council of Steelworkers was formed to provide an organized format for small-shop workers to discuss and act on their problems, and to strengthen the voice of small locals within the USWA. The council is open to any small-shop steelworker who agrees with these goals.

Leonard, president of Local 7097 and chairperson of the council, described some of its activities. One is a project to compare contracts in various small locals. The council is also trying to coordinate lobbying among small shops for health-care legislation. Leonard said an eventual council goal is to pave the way for geographically coordinated bargaining.

Among those present at the meeting were Frank Valenta, newly elected District 28 director, and George Banks, who has been appointed district coordinator of small shops. Valenta participated extensively in the discussion and invited those present to attend a district conference on small shops planned soon.

Steelworkers present said they welcomed Valenta's attendance and hoped it signaled a greater concern by the district officials for their problems. At the same time they felt that their own discussions and activities as the workers directly affected were vital to improving their conditions.

—Andy Rose

Protests stop shah's venture at Queens Coll.

By Charles Cairns

NEW YORK—A semester of protests by students and faculty has forced the administration of Queens College to end a Program of Cooperation Between the National University of Iran (NUI) and the City University of New York (CUNY).

The Program of Cooperation was signed secretly in April 1976 following consultation between top officials of CUNY, NUI, and the Iran desk of the U.S. State Department.

The center was to serve as a "clearinghouse of information" for NUI operations in the United States and to maintain a list of all Iranian graduate students in this country "with a view of employing them at NUI."

Opponents of the center charged that it would be used as a cover for harassment and surveillance operations against Iranian students by SAVAK, the shah's secret police.

By its very existence at CUNY, critics also charged, the program would legitimize the brutal Iranian dictatorship. The shah has been trying to camouflage his brutal regime by financing artistic and academic enterprises in the United States and Europe.

Protests were organized by the Ad

Hoc Committee to Abolish the Program of Cooperation Between NUI and CUNY. Among the committee's sponsors were: Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; *Monthly Review* editor Paul Sweezy; MIT Prof. Noam Chomsky; and numerous Queens College professors, including Michael Harrington and myself.

The Ad Hoc Committee organized a number of activities, including a speak-out and a campus-wide referendum.

The referendum registered overwhelming support for abolition of the program.

Just before the campus-wide poll, the program's initial director, Prof. John Moyne, resigned, citing "significant opposition to the program, respect for the opinions of his colleagues, and a general misunderstanding of the nature of the program" as reasons for his action.

After the referendum, Acting Queens College President Nathaniel Siegel ordered Moyne "to suspend all aspects of the cooperative agreement," setting June 30, 1977, as the date for terminating it completely.

Campaigning for Socialism

'PUT A SOCIALIST STEELWORKER ON THE BALLOT': On June 4 supporters of the Socialist Workers Party began a drive to put Diane Sarge and Sas Scoggins on the November ballot.

Sarge, who is running for mayor, is a member of the United Steelworkers of America. She is employed at the Hughes Tool plant. Scoggins is the SWP candidate for city council, Position Two, and a member of the International Typographical Union.

Houston election laws require the two candidates to either submit 3,000 signatures each on nominating petitions or pay \$1,750 in filing fees to qualify for ballot status.

SWP campaign supporters are planning to collect 5,000 signatures for each of their candidates to ensure a sufficient number of valid petitions.

Despite a record-breaking heat spell during the first week and steady rain during the second week of the petition drive, nearly 9,000 signatures were gathered in the first twelve days.

Typical responses from those who signed: "A woman steelworker for mayor? I'm all for the woman." "You say she's in the steelworkers union? My cousin works at Hughes Tool. Where do you want me to sign?" "I hope they win. Things would be a lot better if working people ran this city."

NEW ORLEANS SWP ON PETITION DRIVE: The New Orleans SWP began a one-week drive on June 18 to gather 4,000 signatures to place Joel Aber, its mayoral candidate, on the ballot. The drive will also secure ballot spots for two newly announced SWP candidates for New Orleans City Council, at-large positions. They are Laurie Burke and Derrick Morrison. Burke, twenty-three, is a member of the Orleans chapter of the National Organization for Women and of the Young Socialist Alliance at the University of New Orleans. Morrison, thirty-one, is an activist in the Black liberation struggle.

CINCINNATI SWP LAUNCHES CITY COUNCIL RACE: The Cincinnati branch of the SWP celebrated its first anniversary June 4 at a rally announcing the city council campaign of Carol Knoll. Knoll, twenty-three, has been an activist in the student, women's, and socialist movements in Ohio for the past five years. Her campaign announcement was covered by short stories and interviews on two TV stations' noon, six o'clock, and eleven o'clock news shows. The June 4 rally also marked the opening of the SWP's new store-front campaign headquarters, which will also serve as Cincinnati's only radical bookstore.

CAMPUS PAPER COVERS SEATTLE SOCIALISTS: The University of Washington *Daily* reported a statement by Seattle SWP mayoral candidate Margaret Trowe challenging her opponents to join her at a June 25 gay rights demonstration. Trowe's statement was released following a four-day antigay barrage by a Seattle TV commentator. In May, the *Daily* published a half-page article on the SWP's program. Another article gave the response of the organizers of a candidates' night meeting to a *Daily* reporter's question about why Trowe had been excluded from the meeting.

McUTCHEON BLASTS BLACK STUDIES CUTS: Hattie McCutcheon, Boston SWP candidate for school committee, spoke at a May 21 rally called to protest cutbacks in Black studies programs at Massachusetts colleges. McCutcheon said that the "fight of South Boston High School's Black students for Black studies and the fight for Black studies at the college level have the same goal and the same opponents."
—Peter Seidman

SWP hits San Diego election disclosure law

By Jan Gangel

SAN DIEGO—On June 8 Richard Lesnik demanded that the city council grant the Socialist Workers Party an exemption from this city's campaign finance disclosure law. Lesnik is the SWP candidate for city council, Third District.

The socialist candidate based his exemption request on the long record of illegal harassment of SWP campaign supporters by San Diego police and federal officials.

San Diego's disclosure law makes no provision for exemptions, even though the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled, in the case of *Buckley v. Valeo*, that campaign committees cannot be required to disclose the names of contributors where harassment of supporters is shown. In many states, provisions have been written into campaign disclosure laws permitting appeals for exemptions along these lines.

The SWP is also challenging another outrageous aspect of San Diego's election code. This requires that all campaign funds be channeled through a "trust fund" run by the city and monitored by the district attorney. Anyone who contributes to the fund must report their name, address, and place of business.

Lesnik, along with the other socialist candidates here—Antonio González (city council, First District) and Susan

Hampton (school board, Seat C)—have made small contributions to their own "trust funds" in order to begin campaigning. Already they have released statements in support of a strike by the San Diego Teachers Association, bus-ing to desegregate this city's schools, and demonstrations at the University of California against campus complicity with the racist regime in South Africa.

But, the candidates say, they will not solicit any other contributions so long as their supporters would be exposed to harassment under the present disclosure laws.

After hearing Lesnik's appeal, the city council voted to refer his request to its rules committee, which was not slated to meet for almost three weeks.

Lesnik blasted this stalling tactic. "We can't spend a nickel more than the small amount we candidates can afford to put in the 'trust fund' ourselves," he said. "This means the city council is blocking our ability to actively campaign by withholding a disclosure exemption assuring that our supporters will be protected from harassment. This delay forces us to challenge the current code through the courts."

The American Civil Liberties Union in San Diego has agreed to handle the socialists' lawsuit.

Thousands attend Int'l Women's Year meets Minnesota

By Ilona Gersh

ST. CLOUD, Minn.—Nearly 4,500 women attended the Minnesota Women's Meeting here June 2-5. The conference was one of fifty-six such gatherings scheduled for this summer in each state, the District of Columbia, and five U.S. "territories."

They are sponsored and financed by the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year (IWY), appointed by President Carter.

During the weeks prior to the meeting anti-abortion and anti-Equal Rights Amendment forces, including the Catholic church, announced plans to mobilize for the conference.

In response feminist organizations stepped up efforts to bring women to the meeting.

For most participants this was their first political conference. They came anticipating discussion about how to defend and win the ERA, abortion rights, more funding for child-care centers, and affirmative action.

The conference needed to discuss and adopt a strategy that could counter the right wing's efforts against women's rights. Instead, the planning committee, headed by Minnesota Secretary of State Joan Growe, tried to stifle political discussion.

For instance, all workshops on abortion were canceled. Discussion was cut off during the plenary session that was to consider IWY legislative proposals on the ERA, health care, employment, education, and problems of older women.

But political discussions took place anyway—in the 216 workshops, in the cafeteria, and at the many literature tables.

Lesbian and minority women's caucuses met frequently to discuss resolutions and other conference business.

Another indication of the eagerness to discuss new political ideas was the lively sale of *Militants* and socialist books and pamphlets.

A total of 129 *Militants* were sold, including twenty subscriptions, along with \$122 of Pathfinder publications.

A resolution calling for August 26 actions to defend women's rights was approved in several workshops and at an unofficial plenary session (there was no quorum). The proposal was introduced by several members of NOW and other feminist activists. It called for a visible, powerful response to all the attacks on women.

Altogether more than 150 resolutions were adopted.

The major goal of conference organizers, however, was to elect delegates to the International Women's Year National Conference scheduled for November in Houston. So, little attention was given to how to implement conference decisions.

For the majority of women here, the most exciting part of the conference was the opportunity to meet and discuss politics with so many women from around the state.

Arizona

By Jill Fein

PHOENIX, Ariz.—Eleven hundred women attended the Arizona Women's Meeting here June 3. No official figures were given, but the participation seemed to be roughly 15 percent Chicana, 10 percent Black, and 5 percent Native American.

The reproduction workshop was attended by about forty women from "right to life" groups and forty who supported the right to abortion. The anti-abortionists walked out in the middle of the meeting when about thirty members of the National Orga-

nization for Women entered. The workshop reaffirmed a woman's right to choose.

The next day the "right to life" women held an outdoor rally to protest the "take-over" of the conference by "radical feminists and lesbians." It attracted about forty people. In response, there was a pro-ERA rally held inside.

A minority women's workshop of 100 passed by acclamation a resolution against deportations of undocumented workers. The workshop also approved a resolution protesting the "lack of minority women's involvement in the planning and execution" of the conference and demanding federal and state funding for forums "organized and implemented by and for minority women."

The conference was marked by a lack of political discussion and democratic procedures. There was no time allotted for discussion of resolutions in the general session, and when women tried to initiate discussion they were ruled out of order. Resolutions were voted by ballot, and participants were told they would be notified in a few weeks as to which ones passed.

Numerous slates were proposed for Arizona's eighteen delegates to the national meeting to be held in Houston this November. Those elected included about half the minority women's slate and half the "official" slate from the conference organizers.

Washington DC

By Dorothy Hawkinson

WASHINGTON—Eleven hundred women, most of them Black or Latina, assembled at Trinity College for the D.C. International Women's Year conference June 10-12.

Some of the liveliest discussion took place in the health workshop, where women complained about weaknesses of the resolutions in the official D.C. Plan of Action to be presented to the national Houston meeting.

Resolutions opposing forced sterilization and supporting women's right to abortion regardless of ability to pay were passed by the workshop and by the conference plenary.

Unlike other conferences around the country, anti-ERA and anti-abortion forces did not intervene here.

Women from the National Committee on Household Employment and the Socialist Workers Party actively worked to build support for a vigil and rally held at the Capitol June 15 to protest the anti-abortion Hyde amendment.

New Mexico

By Lynn Rashkind

ALBUQUERQUE, N. Mex.—About 800 women registered for the New Mexico International Women's Year meeting June 3-5. Twenty-five percent were women of oppressed nationalities—Black, Chicana, and Native American.

Some twenty-five anti-abortion and anti-Equal Rights Amendment people voted against every resolution until finally they walked out and held a news conference. They accused the IWY of biased outreach work and threatened to sue the coordinating committee.

A series of resolutions were passed, including ones on child care, migrant farm workers, Indian women, and union women.

About half the delegation elected for the national meeting in Houston are women of oppressed nationalities. However, many women, including Isabel Blea from the Raza Unida Party, charged that racism pervaded the conference.

ELECTION IN SPAIN

Masses repudiate Francoism; huge vote for workers parties



Young members of the Communist and Spanish Socialist Workers parties demonstrating in Madrid to celebrate election results.

By Caroline Lund

MADRID—The people of Spain streamed to the polls on June 15 and delivered a vote of massive repudiation to the system of fascist terror through which the capitalist class of Spain has ruled for the past forty years.

Participation was estimated at more than 80 percent of eligible voters. For everyone under sixty-two years of age, this was the first opportunity in their lives to participate in general elections, since the last ones were held in 1936.

The Alianza Popular (AP—Popular Alliance), an electoral formation openly based on adherence to Francoism, trailed behind the Unión de Centro Democrático (UCD—Union of the Democratic Center) and the Socialist and Communist parties, taking only 8.3 percent of the vote.

The defeat of the AP was also a defeat for the

Catholic church hierarchy, which has been among the strongest backers of Francoism. The day before the elections, a church commission came out with a declaration advising Catholics that the AP's program was most "in accord with the thinking of the church and thus consistent with the Catholic faith of the majority of the Spanish people."

In first place, with 34.3 percent of the votes (with 94.9 percent counted), was the UCD. This is the electoral formation headed by Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez, former head of Franco's National Movement. The Suárez government organized the elections by decree and ruled arbitrarily on which political parties would be allowed to legally organize around their ideas.

Suárez was only able to receive the substantial vote he won by claiming to have totally changed his spots. He now says he is a "non-Marxist social

democrat," and claims responsibility for putting Spain on the road to democracy.

Despite many undemocratic aspects of these elections—organized and controlled by Franco's trusted heirs (see box)—the working people of Spain were able to express a powerful class vote; a vote showing they are convinced that only parties of the working class will be able to bring the kind of democracy they are interested in.

Running second and third after Suárez's UCD were the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE—Spanish Socialist Workers Party, the main social-democratic party) with 28.5 percent of the vote, and the Partido Comunista de España (PCE—Communist Party of Spain) and its affiliate in Catalonia with 9.0 percent. These two workers parties were only legalized in February and April respectively.

Despite this disadvantage, the combined vote of the largest working-class parties (PCE and PSOE and another social-democratic group, the Partido Socialista Popular PSP—Popular Socialist Party) totaled 42 percent of the vote—only one percentage point behind the combined total of the UCD and AP, which are the main capitalist electoral formations, not counting the bourgeois nationalist parties in the oppressed nations of Euskadi (the Basque country) and Catalonia.

In some major cities the working-class parties won a clear majority.

In Madrid, Spain's capital, the PCE, PSOE, and PSP won 51.4 percent of the vote, compared to 42.9 percent for the major capitalist parties.

In the huge industrial stronghold of Barcelona, the Catalan affiliates of the PCE and PSOE took 50 percent of the vote, with the capitalist parties winning only 43.4 percent. And furthermore, 15.4 percent of this 43.4 percent went to the nationalist formation, the Democratic Pact of Catalonia, which reflects a confused vote against the national oppression of the Catalan people.

In Sevilla the workers parties received 56.5 percent of the vote, with only 39.5 percent for the major capitalist parties. (The percentages don't add up to 100 because the votes of numerous smaller parties have not yet been reported.)

The Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International that ran candidates as part of the Frente por la Unidad de los Trabajadores (FUT—Front for Workers Unity) estimated five days after the elections, with incomplete returns, that it received approximately 41,000 votes in the nineteen provinces where the FUT was on the ballot (which was about 0.5 percent of the vote).

The LCR noted in a June 16 statement that the election campaign "enabled us to openly address tens of thousands of workers, explaining our positions and proposals in face of the other electoral alternatives."

The statement went on to note that the success of the Socialist and Communist parties "expresses the desire for a definitive break with Francoism and the distrust of the capitalist parties that are felt by the great majority of the workers and of the nationalities of the Spanish state."

It concludes with the proposal that "the majority parties of the working class (PSOE, PCE, Socialist Unity [a social-democratic electoral bloc that includes the PSP]) form a government that will break radically with the plans of the capitalist class."

The question of the right of the oppressed nations in Spain to self-determination came forth as a major issue confronting all parties in the elections. In a spectacular and unexpected victory, the PSOE won more seats in the parliament than the main bourgeois-nationalist parties in both the Basque country and Catalonia. But it could only do this by identifying itself with the nationalist aspirations that are overwhelmingly supported by both peoples.

Only three days before the elections, an estimated 400,000 Catalonians attended a mass meeting demanding autonomy for Catalonia, which was sponsored by an electoral formation dominated by a right-wing Maoist organization, the Partido del Trabajo (Labor Party). The Madrid daily *El País* called it "the largest mass event celebrated in Catalonia since the end of the civil war."

The results of the elections have posed for debate not only the fate of the oppressed nationalities, but the future of all Spain. The new Cortes (parliament) is now supposed to debate and adopt a new constitution. Municipal elections are expected in the fall, followed by elections to a new Cortes according to the new constitution.

The June 15 elections have not settled anything; they have simply set the stage for a new level of mass discussion over democracy and socialism, and new struggles by a working class with increased confidence and greater rights.

How democratic was the vote?

By José G. Pérez

MADRID—Big-business-owned newspapers in this country and around the world are hailing the June 15 parliamentary elections here as the opening of a new, democratic era for Spain.

But despite all this crowing, the elections here were anything but democratic.

Millions of people here were deprived of the right to vote either because they were under twenty-one or because they were temporarily working in another country. In addition, King Juan Carlos appointed forty-one senators—one-sixth of the upper chamber of the supposedly democratic Cortes (parliament).

This is the way the voting works: For the lower house—the chamber of deputies—each party runs a full slate for all the seats available from a province. Each slate is printed on a separate sheet of paper. You cast your vote by placing the list of your party in an envelope and dropping it in the ballot box.

For the senate, there is only one ballot.

I visited dozens of precincts on election day. At each one the ballots were laid out on a long table, along with the senate ballot and appropriate envelopes. At most polling places, though not all, there was also a booth with the array of ballots inside, where you could vote in secret.

Most of the people I saw simply picked up a ballot from the table and stuffed it in the envelope. Anyone in the polling place could see that most people were voting communist or socialist, since these were working-class neighborhoods. So, in effect, there was no secret ballot.

There were many reports in the press and from pollwatchers of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League)

that people in smaller cities and towns were threatened with loss of their jobs or other reprisals if they didn't vote for capitalist parties.

In addition, the Alianza Popular (AP—Popular Alliance), the largest openly Francoist group, went on a systematic campaign to disrupt the balloting in working-class areas.

In Vallecas, a working-class area of Madrid with 300,000 residents, someone stole all the ballots of the working-class parties early in the morning of the balloting. The government took hours to replace the missing ballots. This also happened in other areas.

The lists of eligible voters were tampered with in working-class precincts. In some places whole sheets had been torn out from the census lists. In Barcelona up to 16 percent of the eligible voters were inexplicably missing from the rolls.

These undemocratic measures clearly involved forces beyond the fascist and right-wing groups. There is no way, for example, for anyone to have taken all the ballots of all the workers parties from all 200 precincts in Vallecas without the cooperation of the cops and officials who were stationed at each and every precinct.

Leaders of the LCR say, however, that the damage was held to a minimum by massive numbers of poll watchers—especially rank-and-file members of the Communist Party—who opposed all attacks on the ballot rights of workers parties, and by the determination of millions of working people to show their opposition to Francoism and capitalist exploitation by voting massively for the Communist or Spanish Socialist Workers parties, even when it took standing in line for hours to do so.

WORKERS PARTIES IN THE SPANISH ELECTIONS

The June 15 elections provided, for the first time in four decades, an opportunity for working-class parties in Spain to present their programs widely before Spanish working people. The following articles by CAROLINE LUND provide on-the-scene descriptions of some of the groups that seek to base themselves on the working class and claim to represent its interests. In last week's Militant, Lund reported on the major capitalist parties.

Revolutionary Communist League

MADRID—The Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Communist League—LCR) of Spain has just carried out one of the broadest three-week election campaigns for revolutionary socialism that has been seen anywhere in the world in recent years.

The LCR is a sister organization of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States.

With many of their leaders still coming out of Franco's prisons, the LCR leaped into the opening provided by the democratic concessions of the Suárez government. It attempted to take advantage of the opportunity to bring its views before the masses of Spanish working people in ways that have not been possible for forty years.

Through an electoral formation called the FUT (Frente por la Unidad de los Trabajadores—Front for Workers Unity), the LCR ran candidates in twenty of Spain's fifty provinces. The great majority of its candidates had been imprisoned and many tortured under the Franco regime.

Coming out of jail and out of clandestinity only months ago, the LCR militants have been speaking

before hundreds of thousands of people on radio and television, pasting up posters all over the cities, building mass meetings, and riding in sound trucks through the working-class *barrios* (neighborhoods).

The LCR and the FUT have carried out many rallies throughout the Spanish state in the past three weeks. The largest were the windup rallies of the FUT in Barcelona (4,000 people) and of the LCR in Madrid (also 4,000). In addition, the FUT attracted 12,000 to 15,000 to its *fiesta* (a combination cultural-political event) in Madrid on June 6.

The LCR is growing. It now has an estimated 3,000-4,000 formal members, plus several thousand more close sympathizers and people who want to join. During the election campaign period, the LCR newspaper *Combate* came out weekly (it was previously biweekly) with a run of 25,000. In addition, the LCR publishes separate newspapers in Catalonia, Euskadi (the Basque country), Galicia, and Valencia.

Growing most quickly is the youth organization in political solidarity with the LCR, the Federación de las Juventudes Comunistas Revolucionarias (Federation of Revolutionary Communist Youth—FJCR). The FJCR held its founding congress last March, with delegates representing 1,200 members.

Origins of the LCR and LC

The LCR and the Liga Comunista (Communist League—LC), the other Trotskyist organization in Spain, are young organizations. The revolutionary socialist current was literally wiped out during the civil war of the 1930s when revolutionists were hunted down and murdered by the fascists, as well as being persecuted and executed by the Stalinists in the Popular Front Republican government.

After decades of fascist repression, the youth radicalization of the 1960s hit Spain, particularly under the impact of the Algerian and Cuban revolutions. In 1959 two new organizations were formed—the Euskadi ta Askatasuna (Basque Nation and Freedom) and the Frente de Liberación Popular (People's Liberation Front). Both were based on concepts of militant direct action on the model of the Cuban leadership.

Over the following years these organizations suffered a series of splits under the pressure of events in the class struggle and debates over strategy. Out of them came the main nuclei of militants who now compose the LCR and LC. The growing influence of the Trotskyist movement in France—especially in the events of May 1968—was an important factor in winning this layer of Spanish youth to revolutionary socialism. Over the past years the LCR and the LC have been in the forefront of the fight against Francoism, functioning under clandestine conditions. The democratic

Continued on page 18



Communist & Socialist parties

BILBAO, Spain—"Monarchical socialism?" queried the headline of an article in a Madrid daily on a recent election campaign rally of the Partido Comunista de España (PCE—Spanish Communist Party). The report quoted Stalinist leader Santiago Carrillo as saying, "Who knows whether we might be the first ones to achieve the combination of a socialist victory with a king."

Carrillo stated that his party saw no problem in winning socialism under the Spanish monarchy just as long as the king merely reigned and did not govern.

The main social democratic party in Spain, the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE—Spanish Socialist Workers Party), takes the same stand. Asked at the Madrid news conference announcing the PSOE campaign whether his party opposed the monarchy anointed by Franco, PSOE-leader Felipe González replied that the monarchy was "not the issue" in this campaign.

At the same time, these two reformist parties try to cover themselves by accusing the other of being the most pro-monarchy. Speaking of the PSOE, Carrillo told reporters May 31, "My impression is that this and other parties will vote more easily for the monarchy than ours would."

As evidence he pointed to the fact that the PSOE's González recently went for a private interview with the king at his palace and came out saying the monarch would be no obstacle to democracy. This "clarifies the question of their [the PSOE's] supposed leftism," said Carrillo.

To make sure there would be no misunderstandings, however, Carrillo added that the PCE would be glad to send a representative to the king's palace as well, if invited.

The PCE and PSOE's support to the monarchy may seem a small point, since in fact the king does more or less what the government and ruling class want him to do. But technically he has absolute sovereignty.

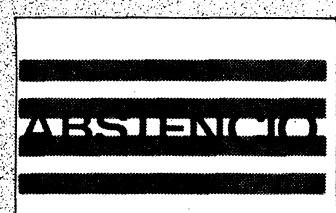
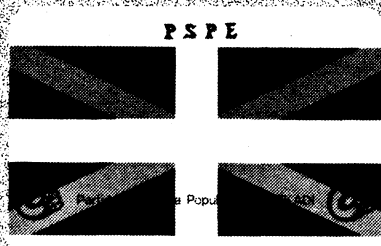
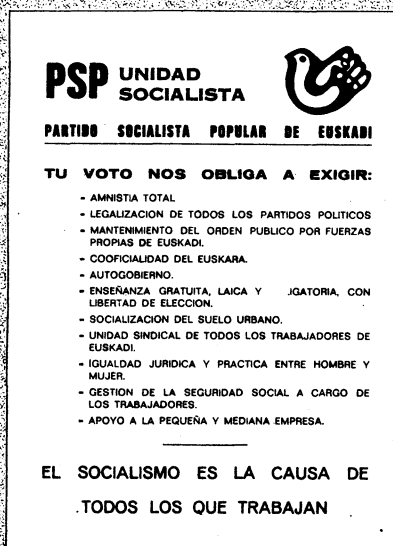
The king, Juan Carlos of Bourbon, was carefully raised and trained by Franco to be anointed king after Franco's death and thus to provide a new form of absolute power. (As a general, Franco himself could not have any credible heirs.)

The Spanish ruling class, with all its newfound democratic convictions, still preserves the monarchy as a symbol of the relationship they think the masses of people should have toward the

Militant on the scene



Militant correspondents Caroline Lund and José G. Pérez wrote the eyewitness accounts on these pages about the June 15 Spanish elections. Future issues will carry more on-the-scene reports about the outcome of the elections and the working-class upsurge in Spain.



government: a relationship of *subjects* to their superiors on the ruling heights.

The groveling of the PCE and PSOE before the stuffed shirt of Juan Carlos—who is supposed to rule the country because of the accident of his family line—is important as a symbol of their fundamental attitude toward the ruling capitalist class as a whole. In brief, they both aim at being loyal, left-talking covers for a parliamentary-democratic capitalist regime. The impact of their policies is to help keep the bloody hands of Franco's heirs on the wheel in Spain as long as possible.

The democratic stage

One of Spain's weekly, mass circulation magazines, *Cuadernos para el Diálogo*, ran an article recently on who the workers of Spain were going to vote for in the elections. The author made the point that wage earners (not even counting nonworking wives of workers) constitute more than 9 million of the 21 million people in Spain who are qualified to vote. This is the case despite all the undemocratic restrictions on voting rights, which disqualify workers under twenty-one years of age, most Spanish "guest workers" in other European countries, and many other categories.

Instead of calling on working people to use their power, as the majority, to fight for a government of their own that would put the interests of working people first, the PCE and the PSOE urge workers to compromise and set aside their own demands so as to first back up and cooperate with the "democratic" capitalist politicians against the most reactionary.

What this means in real life has become more and more clear.

Last January five lawyers associated with the Communist Party were slaughtered in their office by a fascist death squad. Almost all of Spain rose up spontaneously in strikes and other protests. Madrid was paralyzed. The capitalist politicians were quaking in their boots.

But the PCE moved in swiftly to halt the mass upsurge. Their argument was: We don't want another Chile. The workers must not "provoke" a rightist reaction or coup.

The same thing happened in mid-May, when the Basque country was shaken by a general strike in protest over the police slaughter and cold-blooded execution of demonstrators for amnesty for political prisoners. Marcelino Camacho, a leader of the PCE and of the PCE-led Workers Commissions, called for an end to the protests and "tranquility" by the working class because of the coming elections. "They can call us whatever they want," said Camacho, "but the interests of the working class lie in there being free and peaceful elections."

Continued on page 19

Centrist & Maoist groups

BARCELONA, Spain—The spectrum of Maoist-leaning and centrist groups that claim to stand to the left of the Communist and Socialist parties in Spain is very large, encompassing tens of thousands of members. Following are summary descriptions of the most important ones.

The anarchists

The main anarchist organization is the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (National Confederation of Labor—CNT). The CNT is a combination trade union and political organization. It has signed up some 40,000 members, generally on a trade-union basis. It is the fourth-largest union in the country. Its membership is not limited to wagedworkers, however, and its goal is to fight for the replacement of capitalism with what it calls "libertarian communism."

Because of its anarchist theories the CNT opposes participation by workers in political parties or elections, counterposing direct action. It also opposes any state forms—that is, parliaments, soviets, courts, armies, and so forth—making no distinction between a capitalist state and a workers state.

During the 1930s the CNT had the allegiance of a clear majority of the powerful working class of Catalonia, the oppressed nation within Spain. Forty-five percent of the working class of the whole Spanish state was concentrated in the industrial cities of Catalonia.

Among the anarchists were many heroic militants who fought and died in the revolution and civil war of 1936-38 against Franco. However, the anarchist program was tested in that monumental struggle and found wanting. The CNT leaders—unable to recognize the Republican government as a regime of the capitalist exploiters—ended up joining the government in November 1936. They went along with measures to disarm the workers militias, censor the press of the workers parties and trade unions, and in other ways cripple those forces that had a real interest in fighting the fascists to the end.

During and after the civil war, the CNT suffered brutal repression, and its forces were decimated. Today, as a part of the new radicalization, the CNT is again growing both among workers and also among layers of students and intellectuals.

On May 30 the CNT held a rally of more than 30,000 in Valencia, according to the Madrid daily *Diario 16*. The main speaker was Federica Montseny, the foremost anarchist leader in the 1930s and also the first woman government minister in Spain. (She was minister of health under the Republican regime). It was Montseny's first public meeting in Spain in forty years.

The CNT has never in its history presented candidates in elections, and it is not doing so in the current elections. "When this electoralist whirlpool is over," stated CNT national secretary Gómez Casas at the May 30 rally, "we will present our alternatives, which are alternatives of the people."

One serious weakness flowing from the CNT's antistate position is that it does not call for the right of the oppressed nations of Spain to self-determination, including the right to a separate state if they so choose.

Organización Revolucionaria de Trabajadores (Revolutionary Workers Organization—ORT)

The ORT was formed in 1969 out of a Christian syndicalist grouping. Between 1969 and 1973 it went through big internal debates. The majority came to dogmatic positions explicitly based on "Mao Tsetung Thought" and defense of Stalin.

It is difficult to figure out the sizes of the left organizations in Spain today, since most of them are growing very fast. But the ORT probably has on the order of 5,000-10,000 members and organized sympathizers.

A nonlegal party, the ORT is running in the elections under the name Agrupación Electoral de los Trabajadores (Electoral Formation of the Workers). Its program is centered around four themes: for a "democratic republic"; for a popular front government; for nationalization of the banks and trusts; and for various immediate demands of the workers. The ORT aims at "the achievement of popular democracy, socialism, and communism in successive stages."

"Our campaign is basically directed against the Popular Alliance [open supporters of Francoism] and the Union of the Democratic Center [the electoral formation of Prime Minister Suárez]," says ORT spokesperson Manuel Guedán. "We do not attack the PCE [Communist Party of Spain]."

The ORT program calls for "the closest collaborative relations" between the governments of Spain and the rest of Europe "in face of the two superpowers [that is, the United States and the Soviet Union]."

The ORT has launched its own trade union, the Sindicato Unitario, which claims some 47,500 members.

Continued on page 19

...LCR

Continued from page 16

concessions forced from the Spanish ruling class by the masses have confronted all the workers organizations with a test: how to take full advantage of the new opportunities to build toward a mass revolutionary socialist party, while at the same time maintaining a position of working-class independence against the "democrats" of the capitalist class.

An attempt at unity

The response of the LCR to the announcement of elections to a new Cortes (parliament) was to call for a united political response by the organizations of the working class. It proposed a four-point minimum platform as the basis for united-front slates of candidates from all organizations that could agree on them.

These points were: "a) For total amnesty [for political prisoners and blacklisted workers] and for democratic rights and liberties without limitations. b) For the right to self-determination of the oppressed nationalities, which means full, unconditional sovereignty for these nationalities over everything concerning their relation to the central state power. c) Against all forms of "social pact" [that is, an agreement between the workers organizations, the bosses, and the government to accept austerity measures against the working class]. For free, united-front negotiations for the demands of the working class and popular layers. d) For free elections to a constituent assembly that should proclaim a republic."

Later, the LCR added to this platform the call for a workers government and opposition to any political bloc with capitalist forces.

The Communist Party (Partido Comunista de España—PCE) and the social-democratic party (Partido Socialista Obrero Español—PSOE) were

not interested in such a program. Nor were the Maoist and centrist groups such as the ORT, PTE, or MC described in an accompanying article.

All these forces hold to a "stage theory," according to which the main task today in Spain is the consolidation of "democracy." This is not the stage, they say, for the workers to press forward in their own name and for their own social demands. The most these organizations would aim at is a "popular front"—that is, a joint government including both workers parties and capitalist parties. They oppose raising the demand for the right of the workers parties, as representatives of the working-class majority, to govern alone.

OIC and AC

Only two relatively small groups were willing to go along with the program proposed by the LCR. These were the OIC (Organización de Izquierda Comunista—Left Communist Organization) and the AC (Acción Comunista—Communist Action).

The OIC, the larger of the two, is based on a theory that the only effective form of organization of the working class is in councils (soviets). Instead of welcoming and aiding the massive organization of workers into trade unions that is happening in Spain today, the OIC counterposes the abstract need for workers councils.

In addition, the OIC tends to dismiss democratic demands as not revolutionary enough.

The AC, which is significantly smaller, functions primarily as a discussion group, not attempting to build a revolutionary party that aims to lead actual struggles here and now. They are more concerned with "theory" and the formation of various alliances with other groups of what they call the "revolutionary Marxist camp."

From the beginning of the FUT campaign, the AC emphasized continually that its participation in the elections did not mean it was "electoralist." Finally, on the eve of the elections, the AC pulled out of the FUT campaign completely, saying that its initial support to the FUT was never meant to imply that it planned to actually call for a vote for the FUT slates.

One other small group—a faction of the POUM (Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista—Workers

Party of Marxist Unification)—joined the FUT campaign in the city of Barcelona. The POUM is a tiny vestige of the party led by Andrés Nin and Joaquín Maurín. It was part of the Popular Front of 1936.

Class independence

Despite the drawbacks of association with the wrong positions of the OIC, AC, and the POUM, the FUT campaign was fundamentally a campaign of class independence led by the LCR.

In Madrid and in the Basque country the LCR was overwhelmingly dominant in the campaign. Its candidates spoke out against the class-collaborationist schemes of the Communist and Socialist parties. They tried to reach out to the rank and file of those parties. They used the platform of their campaign to urge support to strikes and other struggles, including the women's liberation movement. They identified themselves with the drive of the working class to strengthen itself by forming trade unions and electing factory committees. Press accounts of the FUT campaign tended to identify it as Trotskyist and as led by the LCR.

In Barcelona, where the OIC, AC, and POUM are stronger than elsewhere, the FUT campaign was politically weaker. At the FUT rally of 4,000 in Barcelona June 8, where the OIC, AC and POUM had a majority of the speakers, there was much abstract revolutionary rhetoric but no mention of the need for a workers and peasants government, no mention of the problems of constructing trade unions, and much waving of the yellow, red, and purple flag of the Second Republic of the 1930s that led the antifascist struggle to defeat by disarming and crippling the workers movement and its militias.

Two days later, however, the Barcelona LCR held its own rally of 800-1,000 in support of the FUT slate. In this meeting they tried to put forward a clear class-struggle perspective and to build the LCR itself.

National question

A strong point of the FUT campaign has been its clear stand for the right of the many oppressed peoples in the Spanish state to self-determination.

The FUT rallies themselves, especially in the Basque country and in Catalonia, gave a glimpse of how the national question is going to be a motor force of the socialist revolution in Spain. Flags of the oppressed nationalities draped the platforms along with the red flags. The Basque national anthem, or the anthem of Catalonia, were sung along with the "International." Often it was the national anthems that swept up the whole crowd in the most thunderous fervor—since many do not yet know the words to the "International." These songs of the oppressed peoples are sung like the "International" is sung, with fists raised and with a tone of defiance of the capitalist rulers of Spain.

The revolutionary socialists have a long way to go in building a party to lead the mass of the working class in Spain. While the largest strictly political rally of the FUT was approximately 4,000, the PCE and the PSOE each had rallies of between 100,000 and 200,000.

But the LCR campaign registers a big step forward for the revolutionary socialist movement. In some areas in the Basque country and the metal industry in Barcelona, the LCR is giving the PCE and the PSOE stiff competition. At its massive rally in Barcelona, for example, PSOE leaders attempted to take credit for leading an important struggle by metal workers at the Numax factory in that city. The truth of the matter—as was pointed out at the LCR rally several days later—was that LCR candidate José Borrás and other LCR members were the actual leaders of that strike.

In all provinces where an FUT slate is not on the ballot, the LCR calls for a vote for the majority parties of the working class, the PCE and PSOE, while maintaining its criticisms of their programs. "But despite our criticisms," explained the June 2 issue of *Combate*, "[these parties] are part of the workers movement and seek support from it; therefore, to vote for them is a class vote through which the proletariat can express its will to fight its class enemy, the capitalist class."

This is also the LCR's stand in the senate elections, where the FUT did not run any candidates.

The LCR plans to follow up its election campaign with a series of meetings around the country to explain what the LCR is to people who supported the FUT. A special leaflet has been printed to pass out at all of these meetings, where people can indicate their name and address if they want to find out more about the LCR.

Communist League calls for boycott

MADRID—The other Trotskyist organization in Spain, the Liga Comunista (Communist League—LC), called for a boycott of the June 15 legislative elections. Because of this position, they were prohibited by the "democratic" Suárez government from holding public meetings during the election campaign period. Public advocacy of a boycott position was, in effect, outlawed during the election period.

The LC's reasoning went as follows:

"These are elections designed to continue the regime whose support and backbone is the army of the 18th of July [Franco's army]. They are elections to legitimize the monarchy of continuity [of Francoism] headed by [King] J. Carlos. . . .

"They prepared the elections to the hilt. The bravest fighters are in prison, many parties are not legal, freedoms continue to be limited. The youth cannot vote, and the workers' votes have the least weight. Their police continue to repress and kill. In their hands is all the power of the state apparatus: governors, TV, radio, the CNS [the fascist trade-union structure] and the Movement [Franco's massive organization, the National Movement].

"No, these elections will not be free. From them will not come a sovereign Cortes [parliament] representative of the popular will, but rather a Cortes dominated by the Francoists of the Popular Alliance [the pro-Franco electoral bloc] and the Union of the Democratic Center [the electoral bloc headed by Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez], a Cortes that will continue Francoism."

Many Spanish working people would agree with the concrete criticisms made by the Communist League of the limitations on democracy in these elections. These limitations exist to one degree or another in capitalist elections throughout the world.

However, the position of boycott is held by only a tiny minority in Spain today. The LCR, for example, felt that all of these criticisms of the limitations on democracy in these elections could be most effectively made by participating in them and using the platform provided by them to speak to much broader layers of the working people and peasants of Spain.

Other groupings that take the boycott position include the OCI (Organización Cuarta Internacional de España—Fourth International Organization of Spain, which is part of the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International led by Pierre Lambert); one faction of the POUM (Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista—Workers Party of Marxist Unification); the PORE (Partido Obrero Revolucionario de España—Workers Revolutionary Party of Spain, one of the groupings associated with Michel Varga); and various small Maoist and terrorist groups.

In addition, a number of organizations and ex-political prisoners in the Basque country have called for boycott of the elections, drawing attention to the large number of Basque political prisoners. But the significant sentiment that did exist in the Basque country against participation in the elections was undercut to a great extent by the government's release of all the Basque political prisoners jailed before 1977 in the weeks and days before the elections.

The LC applied for permission to hold public meetings in Barcelona, Madrid, and elsewhere to discuss "a working-class alternative to the elections" but were denied government authorization. One meeting the LC tried to hold without authorization was broken up by police, and two participants were arrested.

...CP & SP

Continued from page 17

The same message is expressed in an election poster of the PCE that says, "Workers: Through your struggles we [the PCE] have won legality; through your vote we will win democracy." Struggle is no longer on the agenda. Politics should be left to the politicians. All the masses need do is vote.

Another way the PCE puts it is to denounce any "destabilization of the political situation," which they say can only benefit the adversaries of democracy.

This policy has nothing to do with reality, answered the April 22 issue of *Combate*, newspaper of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League, the sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party). "Because precisely each and every one of the victories won by the workers in recent years has been the product of determined struggle, of 'destabilization' of the Francoist regime."

What flows from this policy is that the PCE is actually not even interested in receiving a lot of votes. That also would "destabilize the situation," you see.

The general secretary of the PCE's affiliate in Catalonia, one of the oppressed nations in Spain, wrote an article for the Madrid daily *El País* in which he said the key problem in the elections was "to prevent the Popular Alliance [the electoral coalition that openly defends Francoism] from obtaining a majority." He spelled out as one of his party's "fundamental immediate objectives" to "contribute to the triumph of a center left majority in the future Cortes [parliament], which will permit the writing of a democratic constitution."

That is, the workers should simply vote for anyone, including the capitalist parties, who talks to the left of the Popular Alliance.

Socialist Party

The PSOE tends to talk more "left" than the PCE, but its program is the same: the workers should limit their sights to the goal of a democratic capitalist system. For the PSOE, the models are the countries of Europe where social democratic parties are in the government, such as the Scandinavian countries, Britain, and Germany. The PSOE calls such countries "socialist."

In the PSOE's program for the current election campaign, the section entitled "The Socialist Alternative" concludes with this sentence: "We want to transform our country into a society similar to those of our neighbors in Europe, raising the standard of living of our citizens, overcoming the limits of underdevelopment, so as to achieve a way of life worthy of an industrial society of the European type."

If they had a chance, workers from the European capitalist democracies could tell the Spanish workers that this is not much of a goal to strive for—given the unemployment, the rising prices, the destruction of the environment, and other severe problems that generate a struggle for revolutionary socialism in those countries as well.

The PCE and the PSOE contend with each other over who is the most for democracy. The PSOE's slogan is: "Socialism is liberty," while the PCE's is: "Socialism in liberty."

Each accuses the other of hypocrisy in this claim, with the PSOE charging the PCE with wanting to impose domination by Moscow, and the PCE charging the PSOE with wanting to impose domination by Bonn (Germany being the strongest power where social democrats are running a capitalist state).

The PCE, hampered by its ties to the Kremlin, feels it necessary to prove its responsibility to the capitalist rulers through the most flagrant opposition to any class-struggle dynamic.

The PSOE, on the other hand, presents itself as to the left of the PCE, in words, that is. This was necessary in order to build up the PSOE's sagging image as a fighter for the working class, since the party had been almost totally inactive in the struggle against Francoism in the later years of the dictatorship.

For example, when the PCE leaders called last month for an end to actions throughout Spain in solidarity with the embattled Basque people, the PSOE issued a statement in favor of continuing the actions. However, this declaration remained on paper only. The social democrats did nothing to actually organize a united mobilization by all the other workers organizations in defiance of the PCE's line.

At this time the PCE and PSOE have by far the greatest support of all the workers parties in Spain. They have held election rallies of between 50,000 and 150,000. However, all workers parties now have a tremendous opportunity in Spain. The vast majority of them still do not have legality, unlike the PCE and PSOE, but they are able to participate in the elections under the names of independent coalitions and to counterpose their programs to the deadend perspectives of the CP and SP.

Hundreds of thousands of people are going to election meetings to check out the various parties. The Madrid daily *Diario 16* reported that in the first week and a half of the election period, from May 24 to June 3, an estimated 6,500 mass meetings had been held by the "main parties of the left" (which doesn't even count those parties that could not manage to satisfy petition requirements to get on the ballot in twenty-five provinces or more. The Trotskyist-led Frente por la Unidad de los Trabajadores (FUT), who are on the ballot in nineteen provinces, held a rally of 15,000 in Madrid on June 4.

Many Spanish workers plan to vote for the PCE or the PSOE because they are looking for a revolutionary party with enough power and organization to actually lead a struggle for socialism. For example, the magazine *Cambio 16* did interviews with people on the street, and were told by transport worker Miguel Ramos Rodríguez that "I will vote for the party farthest to the left that exists—for the Communist Party, because there is no farther to the left." Ramos told the reporter he thought that "what Spain needs is 300 Fidel Castros, so that we can get rid of these 'dandies' and bums once and for all."

Workers such as Ramos will be seeking a new revolutionary party as the real programs of the PCE and PSOE are exposed in real life.

...centrists

Continued from page 17

Partido del Trabajo de España (Labor Party of Spain—PTE)

The PTE originated out of a 1967 split from the Communist Party of Spain and the PCE's Catalan affiliate. Originally Maoist, the PTE now talks less and less about its links to Peking. It used to be larger than the ORT, but has been losing ground recently.

The electoral formation of the PTE is called the Frente Democrático de Izquierdas (Democratic Front of the Left—FDI). Apart from the PTE itself, this formation includes various front organizations of women, youth, and so forth, which consist primarily of PTE members, as well as the trade union initiated by the PTE, the Central Sindical Unitaria del Trabajo (Unitary Labor Union Central).

In Catalonia, the PTE's electoral formation has a

different name, Esquerra de Catalunya (Catalan Left), and has managed to gain the allegiance of a capitalist party, albeit a small one—the Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya. The latter is a tiny vestige of the Catalan Esquerra, which was the bourgeois component of the People's Front in Catalonia in the 1930s. This was the party that presided over the strangling of the workers' and peasants' struggle in Catalonia against the fascist revolt.

The program of the PTE is similar to that of the ORT, only further to the right; that is, a so-called revolution by stages in which the present stage is said to be one of democratic demands only and of support to democratic-minded capitalist politicians. The PTE's electoral formation doesn't call for nationalization of the big monopolies or banks, only for greater control of these institutions. It doesn't even call for the dismantling of Francoism or an end to the monarchy. Nor does it support the right of the oppressed nationalities to self-determination.

During the explosion of protests following the rightist murder of five left-wing lawyers last January, the PTE joined the PCE in calling for "responsibility" by the left and for support to Suárez against the ultraright.

Movimiento Comunista (Communist Movement—MC)

The MC originated in a split in 1966 from the ETA (Euskadi ta Azkatasuna—Basque Nation and Freedom), an organization that arose out of the youth radicalization of the 1960s based on a program of armed struggle against Francoist fascism. The forces that formed the MC favored a course more directed toward the working class and mass work rather than armed actions by small groups. The MC then expanded from a Basque-based organization to a statewide one.

Like the ORT and PTE, the MC does not talk about the need to struggle now for a workers and peasants government based on the majority organizations of the working class. It only calls for a constituent assembly that would give rise to a "fully democratic Republic"—presumably a capitalist one.

Unlike the ORT and PTE, the MC has not tried to form its own sectarian trade union, but instead participates in the Workers Commissions, the largest union in Spain.

The MC presently has no ties to any international socialist tendency and, in fact, states explicitly that a revolutionary party in Spain should not seek such ties but should base its program only on the particular conditions in Spain.

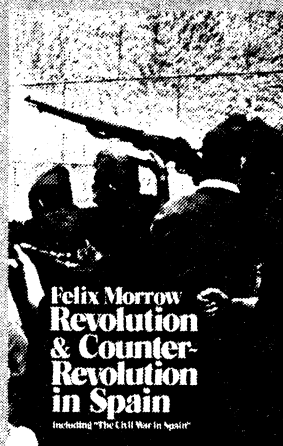
The electoral formation that the MC participates in is the CUP (Candidatura de Unidad Popular—Candidature of Popular Unity). It includes several left social-democratic and "self-management" organizations, as well as the Partido Carlista (Carlist party). This is a small "socialist-monarchist" group, which wants to install a different line of Spanish royalty than the one the present king, Juan Carlos, comes from.

The MC also has between 5,000 and 10,000 members or organized sympathizers.

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Minn. union officials discuss labor party

By Joan Castle

MINNEAPOLIS—Trade unionists here and in neighboring St. Paul have begun discussing the formation of a labor party.

A motion to study the idea was recently passed by the Minneapolis Central Labor Union. On May 25 Virgil Moline, president of the MCLU, went before the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly to encourage that body to support the motion.

At the St. Paul meeting Moline voiced dissatisfaction with the Democratic Farmer Labor Party—the local name for the Democratic Party.

"The DFL seems to have forgotten what the 'L' part of the DFL means," Moline said.

"We have talked in the past of how happy we were with the Democratic Farmer Labor Party," he said. "Now we find we are not so happy. We need to start another party, a labor party, and screen candidates and say these are our candidates."

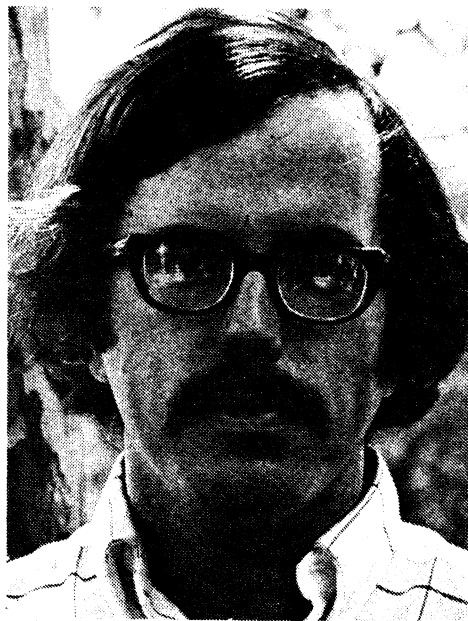
"We had little success in talking with our legislators this year, and I came here to ask if you too see that we have to do something."

According to the *St. Paul Union Advocate*, delegates cheered Moline's suggestion. Some thanked him for expressing their views.

Richard Radman, executive secretary of the St. Paul Building and Construction Trades Council, said that the idea of a labor party "has merit."

Following Moline's presentation the St. Paul assembly voted to study the idea. It also voted to form a fifteen-member research committee to find candidates for public office.

Tony DeZiel, the assembly's secretary-treasurer, called the formation of the committee an unprecedented step. "The group will seek out people for office," he said. "The people we're



Jim Carson, SWP candidate for mayor of Minneapolis.

looking for will come to us first instead of the DFL Party."

Moline and Radman described the labor party idea as at "the talking stage." The next step is to raise it before the state AFL-CIO executive board, which meets at the end of June.

They told reporters that the idea of a labor party is a serious one and not designed to simply pressure the DFL into a more prolabor attitude.

But the way Moline and Radman have described such a party implies setting up little more than a screening process to find supposedly more reliable "friends of labor" to run in the DFL. Moline and the MCLU, for example, have endorsed the DFL candidate for mayor of Minneapolis—a bank vice-president, Albert Hofstede.

Hofstede is opposed in the race by Jim Carson, a unionist and member of the Minneapolis Federation of

Teachers Executive Board, who is running on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

The Republicans have yet to announce a candidate.

While Twin Cities labor bureaucrats are not ready to seriously break with the DFL, their actions provide the opportunity for serious discussion in local unions on the need to break with the two capitalist parties.

Resolutions supporting a labor party independent of the DFL have already been passed by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees locals 1164 and 977, and the United Electrical Workers Local 1139.

Workers here as elsewhere are increasingly angry over unemployment and cuts in schools, hospitals, and other social services.

This growing anger was expressed in a letter to the *St. Paul Union Advocate* by the business representative of the Office and Professional Employees Local 12. After explaining that he had always been a staunch DFL supporter, he continued:

"... Perhaps we've had enough. Perhaps it is time, indeed, that we started a Party whose commitment will return this country to the People—a party that has the guts and determination to tell the oil companies, the banking industry and the corrupt corporate world that we are now going to do battle on every front until the common citizen of this country can once again enjoy his inalienable rights."

SWP mayoral candidate Carson has come out strongly in favor of a labor party.

"We need our own party," he said, "one that's concerned about a decent wage, about job discrimination, about championing the struggles of women,

of Blacks, and Indians for equal justice.

"Workers are a majority in this city and state. If we had a labor party based on the trade unions, workers could elect our own representatives who wouldn't be beholden to the industrialists and bankers.

"We need a broad discussion on this in the labor movement. We especially need to discuss what this party would stand for."

Labor officials in Minnesota have been particularly upset by DFL positions on such questions as "ban the can" legislation. Many labor officials oppose such environmental laws on the grounds that they will eliminate jobs.

"Labor should be leading the fight for both jobs and a clean environment," says Carson. "If we had a labor party, it could mobilize workers into a powerful force to demand that the federal funds now being used for the bloated war budget be used instead for a massive program to create jobs and clean up the environment at the same time."

Carson said that the AFL-CIO State Executive Council meeting in June should issue a call for a conference of trade unions "that would mobilize the entire labor movement" to discuss the immediate formation of an independent labor party and the program for such a party.

Pointing to the contradiction between talking about a labor party and endorsing a capitalist candidate for mayor, Carson urged Moline and the MCLU to rescind their endorsement of Hofstede.

"Hofstede is a bank vice-president and the mouthpiece of this city's tiny ruling class, the big-business interests.

"There are only two candidates in

Continued on page 30

The JP Stevens drive: how not to organize

By Linda Millwood

ATLANTA—Last winter, before Maynard Jackson went into the strikebreaking business against underpaid sanitation workers in this city, it was announced that he was on a committee of "prominent southern activists" pledged to help the underpaid J.P. Stevens Company textile workers.

Other members of the committee included State Sen. Julian Bond and Charles Morgan of the American Civil Liberties Union. I don't know if the support committee for Stevens workers ever met or plans to, or what kind of support was intended. But there can be no real support that

AS I SEE IT

does not extend to the union movement, including municipal unions in Atlanta.

I do know that Julian Bond did nothing to help the Atlanta sanitation workers when Maynard fired the strikers and hired scabs. I think Charles Morgan is still prepared to defend union members when their civil liberties are infringed. But in Atlanta the sanitation workers had no liberties to infringe when Maynard got finished with them.

It ought to be clear by now that neither the Stevens workers nor the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) can expect help from Maynard Jackson and his kind. But my recent discussion with Joel Gay, an ACTWU organizer, has convinced me that top officials of his union are still looking to "friendly" employers and their political agents in the Democratic party for help.

Gay's job is to organize public support for the Stevens boycott in several southern states, but he works mostly in Georgia and the Atlanta area. I thought he would like to speak at a Militant Bookstore Forum, as other union organizers have.

The forum attracts a larger audience than he can find elsewhere, and it is attended by working people and union members who will support the Stevens boycott as they have supported the boycott of grapes and lettuce by the United Farm Workers.

Gay refused. He doesn't want this kind of support. He had a copy of a letter that he said the J.P. Stevens Company has distributed to all its employees some months before. The letter was brief, from a company official to a "Clyde" somebody in ACTWU's public relations department. It listed boycott supporters: 1) the Communist party; 2) the National Lawyers Guild, described as a "Communist front"; 3) the Spartacist League. It said, "I'm glad they're on your side—not ours."

Gay was afraid that if he spoke at the Militant Bookstore Forum the Stevens Company would put out a letter listing him as a socialist. He said that if ACTWU were to do a forum sponsored by the Militant Bookstore the news would spread all over South Georgia and destroy ACTWU's potential to organize there.

Another way he put it was, "We had thirty-five people in downtown Atlanta leafleting one day and had hand-delivered letters to all the media and didn't get any coverage at all; but if we did a Militant Bookstore Forum, it would be headline news the next morning." Apparently he thought that would be bad.

He referred to a GBI (Georgia Bureau of Investigation) report on the October League at the Mead plant that was published in the local paper a few months back, and said the FBI infiltration of the Socialist Workers party was another reason for refusing to speak at the forum. He said there is no way to do a public forum in Atlanta and the Stevens Company not be informed.

We talked about how to organize an effective boycott. The ACTWU has an extreme fear of being caught in a secondary boycott. Consequently, they are not doing much publicity around stores selling Stevens products. They are afraid of being sued by business like the NAACP

was in Port Gibson, Mississippi, Gay said.

He thought I could help make the boycott more effective than it is now, since I work in a hospital and know other hospital workers. He wanted us to find out where the hospitals get their linen.

When he finds institutions getting linen directly or indirectly from J.P. Stevens, he hopes to send teams of "preachers," "politicians," "professors," and "labor leaders" to talk with the persons in charge of the institution and convince them to switch companies.

For instance, if he finds that the state penitentiary is using Stevens products, he will send "five preachers" to talk with Governor Busbee one week, "five labor leaders" the next, and so on, until Busbee is convinced that it is "morally wrong" to support a company that treats its employees like Stevens does.

Gay admits that many of the people he considers supporters are the same people who helped Jackson break the sanitation strike, called by members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. But he says ACTWU can count on these strikebreakers because they won't feel the economic impact of their moral stand since the Stevens plants are located in other towns.

Even though he has been showing the ACTWU film, *Testimony: Justice vs J.P. Stevens*, to some unions, he said he would not want to show it at our AFSCME Local 1644 meeting because it might anger Daddy King, a supporter of Jackson's attack on our union. He said it just plain like that, too.

That is what Joel Gay, ACTWU organizer, thinks about the J.P. Stevens boycott and how to conduct it.

I hope *Militant* readers will find this interesting in light of Frank Lovell's recent series on the Stevens boycott and the problems of organizing unions in the South.

Linda Millwood is a hospital worker in Atlanta and a member of AFSCME Local 1644 there.

World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM
INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

JULY 1, 1977

New constitution in USSR: cover for more repression

By Gerry Foley

The new Soviet draft constitution was presented "to the people" with enormous ballyhoo by the Kremlin's press and that of its acolytes.

The local papers in the USSR have been running statements from the "mass organizations" hailing the new constitution in the name of "we fishermen," "we collective farmers," "we students," etc.

At the same time, *Pravda* has been running features in nearly every issue on the "world impact" of the new constitution. Even the Western capitalist press has been drawn on to show the impact of the draft constitution. The *New York Times* was said to have taken special note of the fact that in his report to the Central Committee on the new constitution:

L.I. Brezhnev spoke frankly about the illegal repression and the violation of the principles of socialist democracy and the Leninist norms of party and state life that occurred in some years after the adoption of the constitution that has been in effect.

In its June 6 issue, the *New York Times* did report Brezhnev's remarks,

Brezhnev's new job

In a further step toward fusing the Soviet state and Stalinized Communist Party, Leonid Brezhnev, CP general secretary, has now been named as head of state. His official title is Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet.

Brezhnev is the first person to simultaneously hold both posts in the Soviet Union.

Former head of state Nikolai Podgorny was "retired" very suddenly last month. He has not been heard from.

in the following way:

"We know, comrades, that some years after the adoption of the current constitution were darkened by illegal repressions, violations of the principles of socialist democracy, Leninist norms of party and state life," Mr. Brezhnev said.

"This was done in contravention of the constitutional provisions. The party has resolutely condemned this practice and it should never be repeated," he said.

Apparently, after the experience of the Stalin constitution, adopted in 1936, which was touted at the time as the most democratic in history, Brezhnev felt obliged to reassure the Soviet people that this new advance for "democratic rights" was not designed to usher in another reign of bureaucratic terror. When the Stalinist bureaucrats talk about the "extension of democracy," a shiver must go down the spines of the peoples of the Soviet Union.

In fact, the very adoption of a constitution of this kind belies the bureaucracy's claim that it is advancing toward "socialist democracy."

In his article "The Fourth International and the Soviet Union," written in 1936, Trotsky commented as follows on the Stalin constitution:

The development of socialist society should find its expression in the political field in the dying away of the state. . . . In actual fact, however, the new constitution raises exactly the opposite process of development to a law. . . .

State coercion is not being attenuated, according to the new constitution, but on the contrary is acquiring an exceptionally concentrated, open, and cynical character.

The same comment can be made about the Brezhnev constitution. It carries the trend of the Stalin constitution still further. *Pravda* has called it "the manifesto of the most humane social order." In fact, it represents a general statement of the bureaucracy's answers to the criticism of the denial of democratic rights in the Soviet Union.



Auth

The "rights" stressed in the draft constitution consist of the economic security the masses have gained as a result of collectivization of the means of production. These economic gains, which should offer the basis for expanding effective political rights, are in fact offered as a substitute for such freedoms. This corresponds to what Trotsky called the Stalinist concept of "freedom without politics."

What formal freedoms are included in the new constitution are more openly hedged. Article 39 says: "The exercise of rights and freedoms by citizens must not damage the interests of the society and the state." This corresponds to the answer the "normalized" Czechoslovak government gave to the demands in Charter 77 for observance of existing constitutional guarantees. That is, rights can only be used for what the rulers of the society consider positive purposes. This provision was obviously included to make it harder for dissidents to claim the protection of the formal guarantees.

The draft constitution represents a more brazen departure from the Marxist concept of the state as an institution of class rule. The new constitution says that class distinctions have disappeared in the USSR but that the state remains as the "state of the entire people."

Furthermore, the draft constitution officially establishes the fusion between the Communist party and the state. While this is part of the degeneration for which Stalin will be remembered even he did not dare refer to it

openly in his constitution. Article 6 of the draft constitution, however, says:

The leading and directing force in Soviet society, the nucleus of its political system, of all state and social organizations, is the Communist party of the Soviet Union. . . .

Armed with Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the Communist party determines the general perspectives of the development of the society, the line of domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet Union, directs the creative activity of the Soviet people, and gives a planned scientific character to its struggle for the victory of communism.

What role is left for the elected bodies that are supposed to represent the "whole people"?

The draft constitution represents an attempt to provide more formal legitimacy for the dictatorship of the bureaucracy. And the Soviet people, despite Brezhnev's reassurances, have every reason to fear that it is intended as a cover for more repression.

If the bureaucracy intends to broaden "socialist democracy," it can demonstrate this by accepting Sakharov's suggestion that it celebrate its new advance to "developed socialism" by declaring an amnesty for political prisoners. This suggestion should be pressed by the international workers and socialist movement, which the Stalinist bureaucrats are not going to bamboozle with their new constitution. After fifty years of Stalinism, workers throughout the world, as well as in the USSR, have learned that when the bureaucrats talk about extending democratic rights, they are actually planning a new attack on them.

Shcharansky accused of 'treason' by Kremlin

By Marilyn Vogt

Anatoly Shcharansky, a prominent Moscow dissident, has been charged with treason. News of the charge was contained in a letter from the prosecutor's office to Shcharansky's mother received June 1, according to the *New York Times*.

Shcharansky, a leading figure in the movement for the right of Jews to emigrate, was also one of the founding members of the Moscow Helsinki

monitoring group formed in May 1976 to check the compliance of the Kremlin rulers with the clauses on human rights in the Helsinki accords.

The Helsinki monitoring groups were able to gain support during 1976 when international sentiment against the political repression in the USSR forced leaders of the mass Stalinist parties and CP-led trade unions in Europe to voice protests. This in turn compelled the Kremlin rulers to release two prominent dissidents, Leonid

Plyushch and Vladimir Bukovsky.

However, the Kremlin rulers were able to regain the initiative against the political dissidents after January 1977 when the U.S. State Department and President Jimmy Carter issued statements of "concern" for human rights in the Soviet Union.

Following initial arrests of Helsinki monitoring group members in February, the Kremlin launched a propaganda campaign to try to make it appear that the dissidents are agents of Washington. On March 4, *Izvestia* printed articles purporting to prove that prominent figures like Shcharansky in the Jewish emigration movement and the Helsinki monitoring group were CIA informants. Although the articles contained no proof of the

Continued on next page



Rouge

ANATOLY SHCHARANSKY

Thousands at international women's conference

By Caroline Lund

PARIS—Women from throughout Europe streamed through the gates of the University of Vincennes, just outside Paris, May 28 for an international socialist women's conference held over the weekend.

The air reverberated with discussion in French, German, Italian, Spanish, and English.

It is difficult to say exactly how many women were there, since the largest hall at the disposal of the conference seated only 600. Participants also met in smaller groups on the lawn and in classrooms. Many discussions took place across the long lines of literature tables and photo displays representing a wide spectrum of women's liberation activities and political viewpoints. Estimates of the number of women attending the conference ranged up to 6,000.

The original call for the conference was made in 1975 by two French organizations, Les Petroleuses and the Elisabeth Dimitriev Circle, whose aim was to build a "class-struggle current" in the women's liberation movement.

The purpose of the international conference was to bring together women from throughout Europe who see themselves as part of the broad current in the women's movement that seeks ties and solidarity between the struggle of women and the struggle of the working class as a whole.

Since 1975, several international planning meetings have been held, but it was in the last few months that the conference really began to pick up steam.

As one of the organizers noted in her opening remarks to the conference general assembly, the women's movement in Europe has changed greatly in the past two years, extending into the factories, offices, schools, and trade unions. In addition, the many-sided attacks on women's rights, stemming from the international capitalist recession, have tied together even more closely the struggles of women and of the whole working class.

Who was there

Such developments helped make the conference broader than the organizers



Rouge/Claire Monestier

Thousands of women from throughout Europe, along with representatives from the United States, Africa, and Latin America, attended May 28 conference in Paris.

had expected. Women were present from the National Abortion Campaign and Women's Aid of Britain; the Movement for Freedom of Abortion and Contraception of France; Group 8 of Sweden; the Women's Movement of Switzerland; the Association of Divorced Women and Feminist Coordination of Spain; the National Organization for Women of the United States; the *consultori* and *intercategoriale* movements in Italy; feminist collectives, women's centers, and women's liberation magazines from many countries; the General Workers Union (UGT) and Workers Commissions of Spain, and various political groups. Women were also present from Africa, Latin America, Greece, Czechoslovakia, and Belgium.

Abortion struggle

The two main themes for discussion at the conference were the struggle for the right to abortion and contraception, and the problems related to women's work—discrimination on the job, unemployment, women in trade unions, and women's double burden of work on the job and in the home.

The centrality of the international

struggle for the right to abortion and against forced sterilization came across strongly in both the plenary sessions and workshops.

"Women's struggle to control our fertility is fundamental to all other struggles to overcome sex oppression and win our rights," Rose Knight of the British National Abortion Campaign said in her remarks at the opening assembly of the conference.

"In no country in the world do women have the right to regulate their reproduction as they wish through freely available contraception, abortion, and sterilization on demand."

A woman from Latin America spoke specifically on the problem there of forced sterilization and imposed contraception programs.

Women from Italy described the growing network of what are called *consultori*—medical and meeting centers run by women. Their aim is to provide information and aid to women who need contraception, abortions, or refuge from a violent husband.

The most dramatic growth of organization and struggles by women has occurred in Spain and Italy. A woman from Turin told about the formation of

"intercategorial" working women's commissions in factories, especially in the steel industry. These are assemblies that unite women of all the major trade-union federations, as well as nonunion and unemployed women.

Women from the European sections of the Fourth International distributed a special brochure at the conference in English, French, and Spanish editions on "Women and the Struggle for Socialism." It included an interview with four women workers from Barcelona, who described the beginnings of organization of female bank employees and metalworkers there.

"In the metal factories of the Deslites de Hospitalet company . . . there is enormous inequality," said Maria Jesús, one of the four. "The bosses have invented something called the 'reduction coefficient,' which allows them to eliminate 10 percent of women's wages for the simple reason that it is a woman who is receiving the wage."

"Women organized and sued (in theory, this sort of inequality is illegal), and we won," she continued. "Since then there has been an avalanche of suits throughout the metal industry. The work is just beginning."

Women are organizing inside both of the largest trade-union formations in Spain, the Workers Commissions and the UGT. Women in Catalunya—an oppressed nation in Spain—are preparing to present resolutions on the role and rights of women inside the union to a constituent congress of the Workers Commissions, which is planned for the future. The UGT has already sponsored a successful conference of working women, attended by about 250 participants.

Despite organizational problems due to its great size, this international women's conference was an important step forward.

The atmosphere was serious. Women sat for hours in hot, crowded classrooms, patiently listening to as many as three consecutive translations so that all participant could follow the discussion.

The exchange of experiences that took place confirmed that the struggles of women are moving onto the center stage around the world.

... 'treason'

Continued from preceding page

charges, the intent was to equate the dissidents' conversations with foreigners, particularly foreign correspondents, and their passing of uncensored reports on repression to foreign correspondents, with giving military secrets to foreign intelligence agents.

Since February, nine members of Helsinki monitoring groups in the USSR have been arrested and a tenth has been sentenced to two years in Siberia.

Shcharansky, arrested on March 15, has been charged with treason under Article 64 of the Russian Criminal Code, which carries a minimum of ten years imprisonment with confiscation of property and a maximum of death with confiscation of property.

It is important to note, however, that Article 64 defines a variety of acts as treason. "Treason" is not only "transmission of military secrets to a foreign state," but "flight abroad or refusal to return from abroad to the USSR," "rendering aid to a foreign state in carrying on hostile activity against the USSR," and activity "to the detriment

of the independence, territorial inviolability, or the military power of the USSR."

This article has been used by the rulers frequently against lesser-known dissidents, especially Jews and non-Russians. For example, in the early 1960s, three Ukrainians were shot under the corresponding article of the Ukrainian Criminal Code because they had been involved in trying to organize for an independent Ukraine. While the right of a republic to secede from the USSR is guaranteed by Article 17 of the 1936 Soviet Constitution, Article 64 of the Stalinists' Criminal Code makes attempts to agitate for such secession punishable by death.

Thus the Kremlin need not have cooked up CIA links to charge Shcharansky with "treason" under Article 64, whose broad definition of treason makes it applicable against dissidents who pass samizdat abroad through foreign correspondents. The bureaucrats have, after all, repeatedly characterized this as "anti-Soviet activity" or the equivalent of "rendering aid to a foreign state in carrying on hostile activity against the USSR."

However, by charging "CIA links,"

the Stalinist rulers have hoped to blacken the dissidents' image within the USSR and abroad and undercut support for them, while intensifying the crackdown and raising the possibility of a death sentence for those who send uncensored writings abroad.

In addition, the Kremlin hopes to intimidate the opposition and force dissidents to stop meeting with foreign correspondents. Joseph Kraft reported in his June 4 column that the rulers have had some success. Since the campaign about the CIA links was launched and Shcharansky was arrested, an atmosphere of fear has replaced the previous bold defiance displayed by dissidents in Moscow in their contact with foreign correspondents.

The creation of an atmosphere of fear is precisely what the Kremlin seeks. But this tactic may well backfire.

The Helsinki groups had broad support from widespread areas in the Soviet Union. A single fact proves this—the number of people who risked retaliation in sending in testimony. This new phase of the repression could result in a much stronger movement just as the repression in the late 1960s did. As in the late 1960s, there is a rise

of political opposition in the Soviet bloc countries with the growth of powerful opposition currents in such places as Poland and Czechoslovakia, where the ruling Stalinists have also denounced protesters as traitors.

In distinction from the 1960s, these dissident movements not only know more about one another, but have issued statements of mutual support. Of critical importance will be the response of the trade unions and the left in Western Europe to whom the dissidents have repeatedly appealed for support.

Just as the new crackdown in Poland brought protests from large metalworkers unions in Italy, this new campaign against those fighting for democratic rights in the Soviet Union can lead to a mobilization of student and labor union forces throughout Western Europe which can force the Stalinist bureaucrats in the Kremlin to back down.

Such a mobilization can turn the tide in favor of the fight for socialist democracy in the USSR. It is the mobilization of these forces, not hypocritical statements from Washington, that can open the prison doors and move the struggle forward.

Uproar in Costa Rica over CIA revelations

By Adolfo Esteva

[The following article appeared in the June 6 issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*, a revolutionary-socialist news-magazine published fortnightly in New York. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

In the last few weeks, Costa Rican politics have been rocked by scandal. This is both a part and a consequence of the campaign leading up to the February 1978 elections.

The crisis was touched off by an article in the April 23 issue of *The New Republic* about former President José (Pepe) Figueres, entitled "Don Pepe." Figueres, founder of the ruling National Liberation party and president twice, is the most prominent bourgeois politician in Costa Rica in the last quarter of a century, and a central figure in the Latin American "democratic left."

Ken Bode of *The New Republic* interviewed him in March. Bode summarized Figueres's disclosures as follows:

I was closer to the CIA than most, I suppose, and with their help, we financed a labor center in Costa Rica, a center for democratic leadership training and a social democratic magazine, which was edited by Luis Alberto Monge [the presidential nominee of the Liberación party for 1978].

During my first presidency [1953-1957] the top representative of the CIA in Costa Rica enjoyed all the confidence of my government—so much so that sometimes he was even present at cabinet meetings.

He also said:

Many members of the congress in this country as well as the current president were elected with Vesco's money. [President Daniel] Oduber had a large part of his campaign paid for by Vesco.

Robert Vesco is an American financier who was tried in federal court in New York in 1972 for having made a secret \$200,000 contribution to ex-President Nixon's election campaign. The contribution was aimed at scuttling charges by the U.S. Securities Exchange Commission that Vesco had embezzled \$224 million from the Investors Overseas Services, Ltd.

With Figueres's help, Vesco fled to Costa Rica and, in return, invested heavily in companies owned by the former president.

In 1973, while Nixon was still in office, the U.S. Justice Department tried to have Vesco extradited on

charges of attempted fraud and obstruction of justice with respect to the Nixon campaign contribution. They did not succeed in extraditing him, but most Costa Ricans, including President Oduber, did not believe that a genuine attempt was made, because Vesco's conviction would have put Nixon in jeopardy. Later, in 1974, the Costa Rican Legislative Assembly passed a law specifically designed to prevent Vesco's extradition, under prompting from then-President Figueres.

Figueres's revelations have provoked an uproar in Costa Rica. Those incriminated by Figueres deny the charges, while in turn making counteraccusations.

On May 17, the Legislative Assembly formed a commission to investigate the matter. The parliamentary opposition is demanding that Oduber resign from the presidency if he is found guilty. On May 18, the twenty-seven deputies from the National Liberation Party asked that Vesco be expelled from the country.

It is clear that the Costa Rican politicians are raising the hullabaloo about Vesco's alleged contributions to help cover up what everyone knows—that it is big capital, both national and foreign, that finances the enormous expenditures involved in election campaigns.

Concretely, for the presidential primary elections held in March 1977, the political parties spent about \$6 per voter. And a single capitalist—Miguel Barzuna, an industrialist who threw his hat into the ring—spent around \$800,000.

In reality, charges and countercharges of fraud, theft, corruption, and so forth, are the basis of all Costa Rican election campaigns. By means of these smokescreens, the bourgeois candidates avoid having to take a stand on the rapid decline in workers' real wages, the brutal repression of strikes, and the poor peasants' demands for land.

Last but not least, all of these charges merely confirm once more the deep involvement of the CIA in the political life of semicolonial countries, especially in Latin America. Furthermore, they show that imperialism uses a variety of tactics. Sometimes its pawns are bloodthirsty dictators like Pinochet, sometimes bourgeois "democratic leftists" like Figueres or Frei. They all serve imperialism's purposes and are chosen to fit the circumstances.

Ethiopia in April and made a bid for Soviet assistance. The bureaucrats in the Kremlin have now given Mengistu their blessing, claiming that the Ethiopian regime is "progressive."

Trying to justify this support, President Nikolai V. Podgorny was quoted by Tass May 4 as saying, "It is no secret that in attempts to contain Ethiopia's progressive development, internal counterrevolution turns for support to certain imperialist and other reactionary forces that hate to see the intensification of the national-liberation movement of the peoples and their socio-economic progress."

Mengistu also had meetings with Communist party boss Leonid Brezhnev, Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, and Defense Minister Dmitri Ustinov. A "friendship" declaration and a protocol providing for economic aid were signed.

...Ethiopia

Continued on page 24

There are also signs that the junta is preparing another mass "peasant march" against the Eritrean freedom fighters, who are continuing to make new gains against Ethiopian forces in that territory. Last year the Ethiopian regime sent 125,000 poorly armed and trained peasants against the Eritreans. But after the first few skirmishes, the peasant contingents fell apart and the campaign was abandoned.

At the same time that the killings escalated, dictator Mengistu was accorded a red-carpet welcome during a visit to Moscow that began May 4.

Although the Ethiopian military had been armed and trained for years by Washington, Mengistu shut down a number of American installations in

Coup in Seychelles

The regime of President James R.M. Mancham in the Seychelles was ousted June 5, less than a year after the group of islands in the Indian Ocean gained formal independence from Britain. Radio Seychelles announced that Prime Minister France Albert René had taken over as president.

Mancham was in London at the time of the coup. According to a representative of the new regime, about 200 armed men took over key points on Mahé, the main island. Two persons were reported killed during the actual take-over. The constitution and the National Assembly were suspended.

In London, Mancham charged, "I am personally convinced that the actions taken have been done with the active agreement and connivance of the Soviet Government and is part and parcel of the Soviet policy of controlling the Indian Ocean." He was unable to present any evidence on this claim when pressed to do so by reporters.

A cablegram from the Seychelles announcing the coup declared that Mancham had been overthrown because he was a "dictator" who had "adopted a style of life which involves lavish spending." René promised to make the 60,000 inhabitants of the Seychelles "free of capitalists and foreign countries."

Under this "system of socialism," René indicated on June 8, the Seychelles would remain in the British Commonwealth and Washington would be allowed to retain its space tracking station on Mahé. He also said there were no plans to nationalize hotels or companies.

8,000 march against Tokyo Airport

Protests continue against the new Tokyo International Airport at Narita, Japan. On May 29, 8,000 persons marched in opposition to the land seizures and environmental damage the airport has caused. The march was attacked by 5,000 cops. Seventy-one persons were arrested.

Demands are also rising for action against the police who murdered Kaoru Higashiyama at a demonstration on May 8.

DINA kidnappings revealed

For the first time, high officials have testified in court that DINA, the regime's political police, has been responsible for the "disappearance" of persons in Chile, according to a report in the May 25 *Washington Post*.

George Swett, government-appointed rector of Catholic University and a retired admiral, testified that two men who identified themselves as DINA agents came to his office on November 3, 1975. They wanted information about Alejandro Avalos Davidson, a researcher at the university.

Avalos disappeared seventeen days later and was seen inside DINA interrogation centers until February 1976.

The disappearance of Carlos Contreras Maluje, a Communist party former elected official in the city of Concepción, was also attributed to DINA. Capt. Clemente Nicolás Burgos of the national police testified that he saw Contreras arrested by DINA agents November 3, 1976.

Worker murdered by rightists

Protests erupted in France following the murder of a striking worker and the wounding of two others by right-wing gunmen June 5.

The workers were picketing a plate-glass factory in Reims when the gunmen opened fire.

In Reims more than 10,000 people protested the murder of Pierre Maître. The General Confederation of Labor (CGT) and French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT) organized the demonstrations.

In Paris the Revolutionary Communist League, sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, and Communist Workers Organization issued a joint call for a demonstration on June 8. Eight thousand participated in this protest.

Police have arrested five men and charged two of them with first-degree murder.

Four of the men are members of the French Confederation of Labor (CFT), a virulently anticommunist outfit. The CFT has a record of physical attacks on other workers organizations.

Dzhemilev case

The most recent issue of the Russian language underground journal, *A Chronicle of Current Events*, dated October 8, 1976, reports that imprisoned Crimean Tatar leader Mustafa Dzhemilev was finally allowed to meet with his relatives. But not without difficulty.

Dzhemilev, sentenced to his fourth term of imprisonment in April 1976, on charges of anti-Soviet fabrications, was sent to the Far Eastern Area of the USSR to serve his labor-camp term.

He had been arrested in June 1975, just three days before his third term of imprisonment was to have ended, and had protested against the injustice of the new arrest and charge by going on a hunger strike that lasted ten months, until his trial. By that time Dzhemilev weighed only seventy-seven pounds and was extremely weak.

Although the prosecution's chief witness retracted his pretrial testimony, Dzhemilev was convicted and sentenced to two and one-half years forced labor.

The real reason for Dzhemilev's arrest and conviction is his commitment to the struggle of his people, the Crimean Tatars, for the right to return to their homeland in the Crimea from which they were deported by Stalin thirty-three years ago.

While Brezhnev greets dictator

Ethiopia: hundreds of dissidents shot down

By Ernest Harsch

Faced with continued opposition throughout much of the country, the Ethiopian military junta has escalated its campaign of repression in recent weeks.

Although assassinations and summary executions have been common in the capital of Addis Ababa for several months, the dictatorship's crackdown on dissidents reached a new level over the May Day weekend.

According to a report in the May 20 issue of the Paris weekly *Jeune Afrique*, thousands of youth, most of them students, demonstrated in the city April 29, demanding an end to the military dictatorship and calling for the establishment of a civilian regime. The protests were called by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary party (EPRP), a leftist underground group opposed to the junta.

New York Times correspondent John Darnton described what followed in a May 17 dispatch from Addis Ababa:

The rampant shooting began at 7 P.M. on a Friday night when, in an almost incomprehensible act of bravado, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party held four simultaneous demonstrations against the Government at four locations.

Witnesses reported that trucks with army troops pulled up to groups of students who were chanting and passing out leaflets and opened fire with machine guns.

In a slightly different version, a report cited in the May 5 *Le Monde* said that the youths were first rounded up by officials of the government's *kebeles* (neighborhood associations) for "distributing leaflets hostile to the government." Many of them were then reportedly shot. Other students were arrested by the military the following day.

Because of the expulsion of a number of foreign journalists from Ethiopia, it is unclear how extensive the killings were. The *Le Monde* account reported that 170 bodies had been taken to Menelik Hospital. According to a May 3 United Press International dispatch, 40 bodies were found in a ditch outside Addis Ababa on the road to the Eritrean capital of Asmara and another 20 to 30 bodies were left lying near

the French embassy. Darnton estimated that a total of between 300 and 600 persons may have been killed over the weekend.

Two days after the initial massacre, head of state Lieut. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam pledged at a government-organized May Day rally to crush all opposition "with the might of the masses." Mengistu demagogically claims that his regime is "Marxist-Leninist."

In the weeks that followed, the junta carried out a major effort to round up and eliminate even more dissidents in the city. The regime called it a "revolutionary campaign" to rid Addis Ababa of "hired assassins and counterrevolutionaries." Roadblocks were set up and house-to-house searches conducted.

In the May 23 issue of *Time* magazine, correspondent Lee Griggs reported from Addis Ababa:

Shooting broke out all over the capital late on Sunday afternoon [May 15] and continued sporadically for twelve hours. Automatic weapons chattered incessantly, and the crump of exploding grenades punctuated the firing. Cars were banned from the streets, and roadblocks set up to restrict movement by foot. Next day the government-controlled papers announced that "one anarchist" had been killed—although hundreds of weapons and thousands of rounds of ammunition had been confiscated. Local hospitals had been forbidden to give out body counts, but an orderly at Menelik whispered to me in Amharic, "Bizualee" (There are many). The best guess: 80 to 100 dead.

Among the more prominent victims of this terror campaign was Ato Markos Hagos, the last chairman of the Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions, which has been dissolved by the junta and replaced by a new government-controlled labor federation.

Also killed was Tesfaye Debessaye, a former leader of the Ethiopian Students Union in Europe. In a statement announcing his death, the junta declared that "hired assassins who ran away from their schools and working places in order to carry out reactionary activities were flushed out from their hiding places."

Darnton reported that relatives of slain "counterrevolutionaries" were



1976 Ethiopian People's Revolutionary party demonstration. EPRP protests in April were drowned in blood by the Mengistu regime.

required to pay up to \$50 for the return of the bodies. One funeral march of about 4,000 persons was reportedly dispersed by low-flying aircraft.

The bloodbath being carried out against government opponents has not been limited to Addis Ababa.

Besides the significant independence struggle in the northern territory of Eritrea, the junta faces guerrilla forces in several other provinces. The Tigre People's Liberation Front is fighting the regime in Tigre, Somali secessionists are active in the Ogaden desert region in the south, Oromo (Galla) forces are reportedly active in Bale, Sidamo, and Arussi, and the rightist Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU) has a base in Begemder and a few

other provinces.

Recent Ethiopian radio and newspaper accounts testify to the level of the junta's crackdown in those areas. It was announced May 5 that 200 "counterrevolutionaries" had been shot by the People's Militia in the province of Hararge. According to the radio, they included members of both the EDU and the EPRP.

The English-language *Ethiopian Herald* reported that another 282 "counterrevolutionaries" were killed in Sidamo in the period of one week. The May 14 issue reported that 971 opponents had been "liquidated" the previous week in the province of Begemder alone.

Continued on page 23

Castro: 'No military advisers'

In response to continued State Department claims that Cuban military advisers have been sent to aid the Ethiopian regime, Congressman Ronald Dellums, who met with Cuban Premier Fidel Castro May 27, has conveyed Castro's renewed denials.

Dellums said at a news conference in Washington June 1 that Castro had told him there were "no official military instructors" in Ethiopia, only "diplomatic personnel." Dellums commented, "My conclusion and considered opinion is that Cuba will send no troops to Ethiopia."

Dellums reported, however, that the Cuban government planned to send 311 Cuban doctors and medical personnel to Ethiopia. He noted that

there were now only 127 doctors in Ethiopia, which has a population of between 30 million and 35 million persons.

Castro himself has denied Washington's claims. In a televised interview taped in Havana in mid-May and broadcast in the United States June 9, Castro said, "We have sent diplomatic personnel to Ethiopia, but all our personnel in Ethiopia are accredited as diplomatic personnel. That is, there are no military advisers or such there."

At the same time, Castro reiterated Cuba's right to send advisers if the Ethiopian regime requested aid. "I have told the truth but I want to warn you that this does not imply that we are not willing to send instructors." —E.H.

Ethiopian students in Moscow hit Mengistu's massacres

By Omari Musa

Over forty Ethiopian students demonstrated outside Patrice Lumumba University in Moscow June 13 against the massacres carried out by the Ethiopian government. The Soviet Union supports the military junta and claims it is leading the Ethiopian revolution.

The students charged that the Ethiopian government was trying to eliminate revolutionaries within the country. They also charged the government planned a "mass massacre" of its political opponents studying abroad.

The students said they were supporters of the antigovernment Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP).

According to a Reuters dispatch, the students said the Mengistu regime had asked Soviet officials to hand over members of the EPRP. One student was forced into hiding when she was ordered to return to Ethiopia.

Two of the Kremlin's most servile tools—the South African and U.S. Communist parties—came to the defense of Moscow's support to the Ethiopian junta.

The June 14 issue of the *Daily World*, newspaper of the Communist Party USA, includes an article titled "South African Communists back Ethiopian revolution." It summarizes an article by W. Jones that appeared in the South African CP magazine the *African Communist*.

The main aim of the article is to

justify the Kremlin's support to the Ethiopian government.

Jones claims the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party "has systematically carried out terrorist and adventurist actions." But he makes no comment on the massacres of the regime's political opponents, including the EPRP.

Jones says that "the Ethiopian government has also indicated its intention to resolve the national question. . . ." The government has made it clear that it opposes self-determination for the Eritrean people. It proposes "regional autonomy" instead.

This "regional autonomy" is now enforced by the Ethiopian army and periodic search-and-destroy missions

by "peasants' armies" against the Eritrean population.

According to Jones, and presumably the *Daily World*, socialism in Ethiopia "requires . . . the completion of the National Democratic Revolution. . . ."

But the U.S. and South African CPs' support to the Ethiopian tyrants has nothing to do with the "requirements" of making a socialist revolution in Ethiopia. These Stalinist parties couldn't care less about socialism or the other needs of the Ethiopian and Eritrean masses.

Their aim is simply to help out the Kremlin bureaucracy in its maneuvers with "friendly" capitalist dictatorships such as that in Ethiopia today.

Panama: seven decades under the Iron Heel

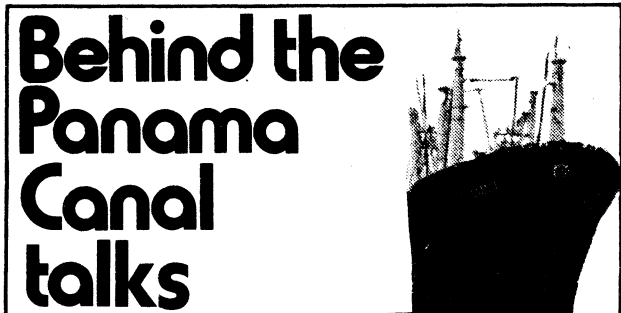
By Judy White
From *Intercontinental Press*

(Third in a series)

Two previous articles described how the United States stole the Panama Canal Zone from Colombia in 1903. The first ships passed through the canal in August 1914.

The occupation of a ten-mile-wide strip of Panama has given American imperialism a firmer stranglehold over that country. Moreover, the nature of that occupation for more than seven decades has created special problems for the socialist revolution in Panama and the rest of Latin America.

The Canal Zone is directly administered by the government of the United States through two



bodies—the Panama Canal Company and the government of the Canal Zone, with a common head appointed by Washington.

The Canal Zone has its own police force, laws, courts, schools, and postal system for the more than 40,000 U.S. and Panamanian citizens who live there.

The administration of the fourteen U.S. military bases in the enclave is directly in the hands of the Defense Department.

All land and housing in the Canal Zone belong to Washington.

Rampant racism

Although Panamanians living or working there are privileged in comparison with their fellow citizens in the rest of the country, racism is rampant.

Canal Zone Governor David Parker bragged in an April 1974 letter to the congressional committee in charge of the area that “many of our employees are now paid at rates which are three to five times the salaries of their counterparts in Panama.” But the average Panamanian working in the Canal Zone earns less than half what an average U.S. citizen does there.

Testimony before Congress from organizations representing Panamanians working in the Canal Zone also showed discrimination in hiring, vacation time, wages for persons doing the same job, promotional opportunities, retirement benefits, and protection under labor laws.³

Until 1962 Panamanian citizens were forbidden to be postal workers or firemen in the enclave. And they are, in effect, excluded from several other job categories.

Up until June 1973 there were no Panamanian boat pilots guiding ships through the canal. When an attempt was made to introduce some, U.S. pilots staged a protest work slowdown. More than a year later, after Washington was forced to change its procedures, there were still only two Panamanians in a group of forty trainees for the job.

One of the issues under discussion at 1974 congressional hearings on the Canal Zone was the May 1, 1974, Minimum Wage Law. U.S. citizens living in the enclave expressed their “humanitarian” concern about the law’s application to domestic workers. On the basis of a survey conducted among approximately 1,000 U.S. households, the Pacific Civic Council reported to Congress that maids, laundresses, handymen, and gardeners were losing jobs. Whites were simply unwilling to pay an hourly wage of \$1.90—up from the average \$0.58 they were paying prior to the law’s enactment!

Discrimination in the Canal Zone also extends to education and housing. Until recently, Spanish was not even taught in the schools. This has aggravated the historical division between Black Panamanians living in the Canal Zone, who originally were brought from the West Indies to build the canal, and the rest of the population.

The Canal Zone housing policy bars Panamanians from living in the enclave unless their jobs are

considered “absolutely essential” to the canal’s operation.

Governor Parker tried to justify this by saying:

These individuals must orient themselves to living in the Republic of Panama because we shall not have housing to offer them in the future. The best time for them to make the transition is at the time when they achieve financial independence through employment.

Military octopus

The provision of the 1903 treaty giving Washington the right to provide for “the safety or protection of the Canal” opened the door for the Pentagon to install a vast military apparatus occupying 70 percent of the Zone.

More than \$5 billion has been invested in fourteen military bases stocked with arms, munitions, and other equipment. These bases also house training schools, three major airports, and approximately fifty airplanes.

Between 10,000 and 20,000 U.S. troops are stationed there.

This apparatus is used to safeguard U.S. interests in Panama and to keep a lookout on the rest of Latin America. The canal has never been attacked militarily.

The headquarters of the U.S. Southern Command, which coordinates all U.S. military and intelligence activities in Latin America, is stationed in the Canal Zone.

Thousands of Latin American military personnel have attended the U.S. Army School of the Americas (USARSA), located at Fort Gulick.

USARSA was established to “conduct training for designated Latin American personnel to achieve higher levels of professionalism, increased capabilities for maintenance of internal security, and greater military contribution to national development.”

As of September 1975, 33,147 students had graduated from USARSA. The January 1976 issue of *NACLA’s Latin America & Empire Report* noted:

In October 1973, more than 170 graduates were heads of government, cabinet ministers, commanding generals or directors of intelligence in their countries. And coups in Peru, Bolivia, Panama and Chile were carried out by officers who had attended the USARSA.

‘Counterinsurgency’ training

NACLA (North American Congress on Latin America) pointed to Washington’s role in training more than 4,000 officers and enlisted men serving under Chilean butcher Augusto Pinochet. During the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1974—less than a year after the bloody dictator seized power—60 percent of the students sent to the USARSA were Chilean, 504 of whom were enrolled in the Combat Arms Orientation Course. This course deals with military operations against conventional and guerrilla forces in an urban environment. The cost for the Chileans was \$314,440, all but \$10,000 of which was paid by Washington.

Also located in the Canal Zone military complex is the headquarters of the notorious Green Berets.

One of the functions they fill is to head up teams of U.S. specialists who travel to other countries to set up courses in counterinsurgency techniques.

Such a Mobile Training Team (MTT) traveled to Bolivia in April 1967, NACLA reported, “to train and supervise the Bolivian Army ranger battalion that was used to hunt down and kill guerrilla leader Ernesto Che Guevara.”

MTTs have also been used in Guatemala, Peru, Jordan, and Indonesia.

In an interview with *Intercontinental Press*, published in the November 22, 1976, issue, Panamanian exile Miguel Antonio Bernal said that the Canal Zone was “where, for example, the [1965] invasion of Santo Domingo was launched. . . . The forces that went to help in one way or another in the 1973 Chile coup departed from the Canal Zone.”

Moreover, Bernal stated, “Washington built several towns in the Zone to resemble Vietnamese villages, and it was there that they trained the Green Berets before sending them to Vietnam.”

Student demonstrators in Panama in April 1961 protested the use of their country as a departure point for U.S. planes participating in the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba.

The noted Nicaraguan poet and priest Ernesto Cardenal accused the United States of using 1,100 of its troops in Nicaragua to aid the Somoza government in its repression. In an article published in the June 17, 1976, issue of the Mexico City daily *Excelsior*, Cardenal said that it was possible to identify these U.S. troops as coming from the Canal Zone by the insignias on their uniforms.

The priest reported that 5,000 Nicaraguan soldiers had been trained in the Canal Zone. He named an American officer as “the torture technician” of the Nicaraguan police.

Washington has intervened militarily numerous times in Panama itself—in 1918, 1921, 1925, 1958, 1959, and 1964.

In 1918, for example, U.S. troops were sent to Chiriquí Province “to protect American property.” They stayed for thirteen months.

The Panamanian armed forces—the National Guard—are trained in the Canal Zone, and they hold joint military maneuvers with the U.S. forces on Panamanian soil. The August 1975 issue of the Panamanian magazine *Diálogo Social* commented on one such exercise:

The latest joint exercise, carried out in Río Hato, was based on a hypothetical air, land, and sea invasion from Cuba. That is, the Panamanians were preparing themselves for a possible invasion from the Caribbean island. But is there any chance of the Panamanians being invaded at some time by the Cubans? . . . What was the National Guard doing in operations based on assumptions so far removed from reality? . . .

What were the Americans doing in an antiguerrilla operation in [the province of] Darién? Is it Americans who are going to lead the struggle against some possible Panamanian guerrillas who may choose Darién as their theater of operations? What interests are in the forefront of their joint operations, Panamanian interests or American interests?

(Next: U.S. economic domination)



U.S. TROOPS IN PANAMA: Imperialism has used the country as a base from which to strike at liberation movements throughout Latin America.

3. Panamanians working in the Canal Zone are not covered by either U.S. or Panamanian labor laws.

Thousands demonstrate for human rights

New Orleans

By Ike Nahem

NEW ORLEANS—Nearly 4,000 supporters of gay rights gathered here June 18 for one of the largest demonstrations of any kind in recent New Orleans history. The occasion was a concert by Anita Bryant, leader of the drive to repeal a Dade County, Florida, gay rights ordinance.

The demonstration, organized by Human Equal Rights for Everyone (H.E.R.E.), gained endorsement from the New Orleans National Organization for Women; Carl Galmon of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Jim Hayes of the City-wide Housing Coalition, a local Black rights group; New Orleans Civil Liberties Union; Socialist Workers Party; Daughters of Bilitis; and others.

A pounding rain storm raged for a solid hour until fifteen minutes before the scheduled rally. As the sun came out, the small group of early arrivals swelled to fill half of Jackson Square.

The featured speaker was former air force sergeant Leonard Matlovich. (See interview on back page.) The crowd repeatedly cheered Matlovich, who stressed the connection between the struggle for gay rights and the Black rights movement.

Thousands chanted "H.E.R.E. and NOW, pass the ERA," when the rally chairperson introduced Sara Jeffries, a leader of New Orleans NOW and the fight for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Joel Aber, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, was also repeatedly interrupted by applause. Aber, a teacher and union activist, recalled that when he was in the state capital



Militant/Mike Alewitz
Joel Aber, SWP candidate for New Orleans mayor, speaking to June 18 rally.

groups with signs that read "Defeat the ERA and repeal the Fourteenth Amendment."

"There's a right-wing campaign against the rights of all of us," he said. "They want Black people back on the plantation, women back in the kitchen, workers back in the sweatshop, and gays back in the closet."

"Rely on your own strength," he urged the demonstrators. "Build a national movement that can fight for equal rights and win!"

Other speakers included Bruce Voeller and Frank Kameny of the National Gay Task Force and Jennie

Aspuzzo, co-chairperson of the Gay Rights National Lobby.

The demonstration turned into a sea of colorful signs as it marched through the French Quarter passing under gay rights banners that streamed from the "lace iron" balconies. Hundreds of people joined in.

All week the press had publicized a "massive counter demonstration against sin and for Jesus" organized by Christians Behind Anita. But only twenty-five Bible thumpers showed up.

Boston

By Gary Lovering

BOSTON—Two thousand people gathered in Copley Square at noon on June 18 for the annual Gay Pride Parade. It was the largest display of support for gay rights ever in this city.

Groups from all over the New England area participated, including the National Organization for Women, Metropolitan Community Church, Harvard Gay Alliance, Socialist Workers Party, and Young Socialist Alliance.

As the demonstration wound through city streets, crowds gathered to cheer, join the march, and to shout "Gay rights now!" and other chants.

One TV station estimated that the number of demonstrators more than doubled by the time they reached the Boston Common rally site.

Chicago

By Marklyn Wilson

CHICAGO—On June 15, 4,000-5,000 gay rights supporters picketed the Medinah Temple here where Anita Bryant was singing at a Flag Day

concert sponsored by the Shriners. Meanwhile, a counterpicket of twenty-five bigots dispersed within fifteen minutes.

Demonstrators, organized by the Committee for Gay Rights, chanted "Stop Anita now" and "Gay rights, right now."

Later, the demonstrators rallied in front of the Tribune Tower. The Chicago Tribune recently ran articles slandering homosexuals under the guise of attacking child pornography.

"This is only the first time we will meet like this," Grant Ford of *Gay Life* magazine said to the cheering crowd. "We will march again and again until we have our rights."

Houston

By Stu Singer

HOUSTON—While Anita Bryant entertained the Texas Bar Association convention, 3,000-4,000 people marched and rallied here. The peaceful June 16 demonstration, organized by the Gay Political Caucus, followed accusations from lawyers that gays had threatened violence if Bryant performed.

Two hundred counterdemonstrators showed up June 16 carrying Confederate and American flags.

The enthusiastic gay rights demonstrators listened to speeches by TV and movie actress Liz Torres; David Goodstein, publisher of the gay newspaper the *Advocate*; Bob Kunst, a Miami gay rights spokesperson; Nikki Van Hightower, Houston woman's advocate; Sister Jennie Gramich; and Rev. Troy Perry of the Metropolitan Community Church in Los Angeles.

Inside the convention hall, Texas's bigoted lawyers voted down resolutions in support of gay rights and the Equal Rights Amendment.

...gay rights

Continued from back page

supporters of human rights the chance to publicly answer the slanders against gay men and lesbians.

We needed more than ads and a few leaders answering the bigots. We needed to show the massive support that exists in Dade County for human rights. We needed actions that could publicly demonstrate our power in numbers. We needed an education campaign focusing on the real issue of human rights.

But the official leaders of the gay movement in Miami looked to Democratic Party politicians and their methods. Because of their support to capitalist politicians they were hostile to any attempts to mobilize supporters of gay rights in action independent of the Democratic Party.

Bryant wasn't hampered by any such problems. The ultraright waged a powerful and visible offensive. "Save Our Children" campaigners were on street corners and at shopping centers everywhere. While the benefit for gay rights drew 700 people (those who could pay five dollars), Bryant mobilized 10,000 at the Miami convention center.

With that kind of aggressive backing, the right-wing coalition called the shots in the debate. They twisted the issue from gay rights to whether students were going to be "molested" in the classroom by gay teachers. The issue was not human rights, Bryant claimed, but "human rot." "It's Satan on the move." "There is no 'human right' to corrupt our children."

Bryant even—quite seriously—blamed the California drought on God's wrath at homosexual activity.

Without a strong, visible, massive movement defending gay rights, the bigots got bolder, and those who could have been won to support human rights were intimidated or confused. Some who could have been won to support the ordinance were persuaded that the antidiscrimination law was unnecessary.

This is similar to what happened to state Equal Rights Amendments in New York and New Jersey in 1975, when referenda were on the ballot. Polls had shown that the overwhelming majority opinion

supported the ERA.

But the right wing mobilized and dominated the debate, convincing many people that the real issue was unisex bathrooms and military conscription of women.

Women's rights supporters failed to counter the right wing by organizing a powerful response. As a result, the state ERA bills lost in the referenda.

Reaching out to allies

Gay rights defenders did little to effectively appeal to their potential allies. Bryant openly sided with the most reactionary, anti-Black, antiwoman, and antilabor forces.

The Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan labeled homosexuality part of the "vast conspiracy" of communism. Gay rights defenders should have made every effort to mobilize Black support against this common enemy.

The week before the referendum, several Black leaders did issue an appeal on behalf of the antidiscrimination law at a news conference. Gay rights defenders should have used that appeal to organize massive leafleting, speaking engagements, and soapboxing in the Black community.

Bryant joined forces with Phyllis Schlafly against the ERA and with Robert Brake, a notorious anti-abortion bigot in Florida.

Gloria Steinem and NOW Vice-president Arlie Scott went to Miami. This was a positive step. But again, much more than news conferences and benefits was needed to organize all women's rights activists in defense of gay rights.

Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, sent a letter of support for the Miami ordinance on gay rights. But teacher unionists were not organized to campaign for the referendum.

The local AFL-CIO took no position. A local leader of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees claimed the union had not been called upon to take a stand.

Gay rights defenders should have made a powerful appeal to organized labor, saying, "Look, democratic rights—ours and yours—are at stake. These so-called Save Our Children forces are the same union-busting forces behind right-to-work laws and other reactionary stands."

And on Miami-area campuses students, who so many times have provided major forces for progressive causes, should have been enlisted in the defense of gay rights.

Democratic Party 'friends'

These potential allies of the gay movement, however, were not brought into the struggle in a major way. Leaders of the National Gay Task Force and the Dade County Coalition for Human Rights were willing to subordinate defense of the antidiscrimination law to the tactic of relying on their "friends" in the Democratic Party.

But what did gay rights supporters get in return?

The Dade County Democratic Party finally gave its verbal support to the antidiscrimination law only one week before the vote. It did nothing to mobilize support for gay rights.

Meanwhile, Florida's Democratic Gov. Reubin Askew sided with Bryant and the Bible-thumping bigots.

And Democratic President Carter—for all his smiling platitudes about human rights in other countries—refused to speak on the human rights issue so urgently raised in Miami.

National Gay Task Force leaders point to their meeting at the White House last March as evidence of Carter's concern for gay rights. But that so-called concern does not translate into support when the chips are down.

Asked at a news conference last week whether he thought homosexuals should be allowed to teach school, Carter answered, "This is a subject I don't particularly want to involve myself in. I've got enough problems without taking on another."

Gays have enough problems, too, without betrayal by "friends" like Carter.

A campaign to win

There is more support for gay rights than ever before in this country. And more support can be won. The June 25-26 actions around the country dramatize that fact.

We need a united campaign to educate the public, to expand and rally support for human rights.

We must continue organizing this kind of visible, massive movement so we can fight to ensure there will be "No more Miamis!"

Coalition sets NYC conf. on gay rights

By Michael Maggi

NEW YORK—The repeal of the Dade County, Florida, gay rights ordinance has sparked unprecedented unity here. On June 14 nearly 200 people from some 50 organizations met to form the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights.

The new coalition voted to mobilize participation in the June 26 Christopher Street demonstration; to call a mass planning meeting June 28 to discuss further actions; to organize a conference at Columbia University during the July 16 weekend open to all defenders of human rights for lesbians and gay men; and to begin discussing a New York demonstration for August.

Countering the antigay campaign through visible protests has been a focus for debate in many gay organizations. At the June 11 annual membership meeting of the National Gay Task Force here many of the 150 participants criticized the leadership's approach of relying on Democratic Party politicians to legislate reforms.

As one activist said, "I believe I was born to be gay. And I also believe that I was born to be marching in the streets every week until there is a gay rights law in every city of this country."

The reluctance of task force leaders to change their strategy was reflected at the first meeting of the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights. The task force representatives urged the coalition not to press for a New York gay rights law until after the municipal elections.

However, after a lengthy debate, the overwhelming majority of activists adopted a statement of purpose proclaiming that the coalition's "aims are to demand and defend lesbian and gay rights; to fight for passage of a New York City [gay rights] bill . . . ; and to build a mass movement and a lesbian and gay community to fight for lesbian and gay rights."

The coalition also made clear that it welcomes the participation of all supporters of gay rights.

Efforts to reach out for support got off to a good start at the coalition's founding meeting when a representative of the Student Coalition Against Racism pledged the backing of that group. The next evening the Chelsea NAACP voted to support the coalition and its projected conference.

On Friday, June 17, the coalition sent a solidarity message to a meeting commemorating last year's Black student rebellion in Soweto, South Africa.

"As fighters for human rights for lesbians and gays in this society, we recognize the blatant violation of human rights of Blacks in South Africa. . . ." the message said. "Good luck in your struggle and we invite you to join us in ours."

David Thorstad, past-president of the Gay Activists Alliance and a coalition leader, is circulating a proposal to be discussed at the July conference. It calls for a mass march and rally sometime in August at the United Nations.

Many coalition activists enthusiastically backed the proposal as an opportunity to focus national and international pressure on President Carter and the New York City Council.

After the Christopher Street demonstration, the June 28 coalition-sponsored mass meeting at Columbia University will discuss further actions, as well as plans for the July 16 conference.

For more information, contact the coalition at 17 West 17th Street, Eighth Floor, New York, New York.

Skyhorse & Mohawk trial

Star witness admits he lied

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—"That was a lie." "I'd say there was one time we did. But we didn't. That was when I was lying."

"I can answer that question but it might be wrong."

"I don't know if it's a lie or not."

"It wasn't really a lie. But it's not really the truth either."

"I'm going to have to say I don't remember. . . . I'm going to have to withdraw that answer at the present time."

"Possibly I said it. But I don't remember saying it. I remember something, but I don't actually remember."

"It was a process of lying. I was lying to protect myself. But it was to protect me because I was lying."

"One time I said I did. One time I said no. Now I can't remember."

"I guess one lie leads to the next."

Those are verbatim extracts from the testimony of Marvin Redshirt, the prosecution's star witness in the murder trial here of American Indian Movement activists Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk.

Redshirt was originally charged with the 1974 murder of cabdriver George Aird. He was let off after he swore that Skyhorse and Mohawk were the murderers.

Defense attorneys asked Redshirt how many times he had lied in his various depositions. "Oh, maybe a thousand," he responded.

These admissions, incredible enough, were topped off by Redshirt's confession, under questioning by defense attorneys Skip Glenn and Leonard Weinglass, that he had lied to the grand jury that indicted Skyhorse and Mohawk.

Drunk witness

At that point the prosecutor decided to call the judge's attention to the fact that his witness was drunk.

Redshirt was hauled off the stand, placed in police custody, and found to be, in fact, drunk. The trial was delayed twenty-four hours. The alcohol level in his blood was four times higher than the state's legal drunk-driving level.

Redshirt's testimony about lying to the grand jury was stricken from the record because he was drunk. This is apparently intended to save him from a perjury charge.

When the trial resumed, Weinglass moved for a dismissal of all charges, pointing out that Skyhorse and Mohawk have been jailed for nearly three years almost exclusively on Redshirt's word.

Presiding Judge Floyd Dodson summarily denied the motion.

Preposterous story

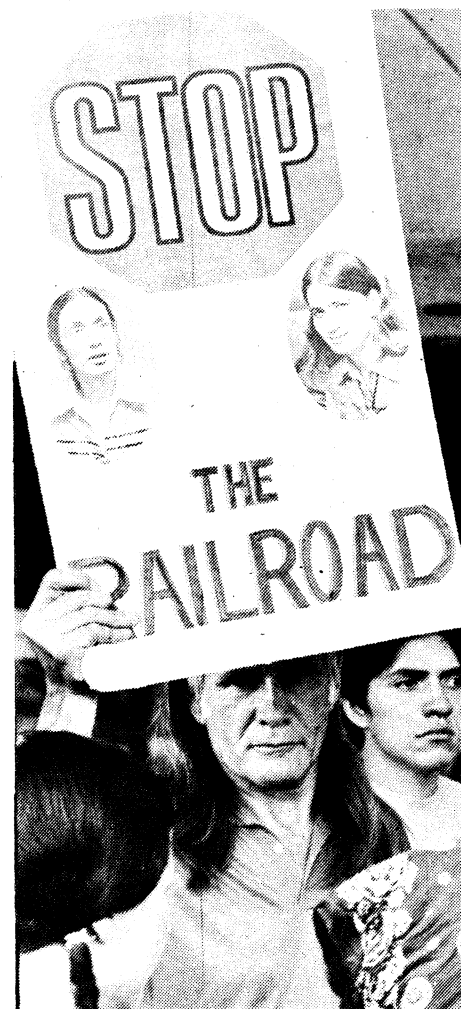
Taken by itself, Redshirt's story is so preposterous that it is difficult to believe that any but the most biased

juror could give it credence.

George Aird was murdered at a camp used by Native Americans in Box Canyon, Ventura County. The actual owner of the camp has not been determined.

These are the main "facts" in Redshirt's story:

About 7:00 a.m. on October 10, 1974,



Militant/Harry Ring

he began drinking at the camp and drank until about six that evening when he drove a group of people to the home of actor David Carradine.

On the way, he sideswiped "two or maybe three" parked cars.

Carradine was not home and they soon left. While they were at his house, one of the people who had stayed in the car took off with it.

To get back to the camp, they called a cab.

Redshirt, his wife Holly Broussard, and another woman, Marcella Eaglestaff, got in a cab driven by George Aird. Broussard and Eaglestaff had also been drinking.

They had only five dollars between them. But, Redshirt asserts, they persuaded the driver to take them to the camp more than thirty-five miles away.

As they neared the camp, says Redshirt, he offered to drive. Why? Because he realized he didn't have enough money to pay the fare and wanted to "do the driver a favor."

Entering the camp, Redshirt smashed through a heavy chain at the entrance, damaging the cab. He brought the cab to a halt inside the camp and they all got out.

Remarkable cabbie

Throughout, Redshirt testified under oath, there was no argument by the cabdriver.

Not about the fare. Not about his taking over the wheel. Not about smashing through the barrier and damaging the cab.

Then, says Redshirt, Skyhorse and Mohawk, who were also staying at the camp, appeared.

One of them, Redshirt's story continues, called the cabdriver "a white motherfucker."

Whereupon he, Redshirt, promptly slugged the cabdriver.

What happened after that? The sequence of events is not clear in Redshirt's mind. He told one story to the police, a second one to the grand jury, and now a third one at the trial.

The reason the events are hazy in Redshirt's mind, he says, is because when he punched the driver his knuckle began bleeding and throughout the time the crucial events were going on he was in and out of the bathroom trying to stop the bleeding.

But, he swears, he did see Skyhorse and Mohawk drag Aird onto the ground with a rope around his neck.

After another trip to the bathroom, Redshirt asserted, he came out and saw Skyhorse and Mohawk over the prostrate cabbie, stabbing him.

They insisted, he says, that he join in.

Redshirt said he reluctantly took the knife and stabbed Aird once and then fled.

He then rejoined his wife, he continued, drank some tequila "vigorously," and hid on the ground underneath a camp building. They emerged about 3:00 a.m., he said, when they heard police bullhorns telling people to come out.

They went to the bathroom, washed up, and turned themselves in.

Redshirt was charged with the murder.

Wanted out

After two weeks in jail he got a lawyer and then told the Ventura district attorney he wanted to talk.

He said Skyhorse and Mohawk were the killers.

Both had left the camp immediately after the killing, knowing there would be trouble. They were arrested in Phoenix, Arizona, while attending a Native American cultural conference. They accepted extradition because they were told they were wanted as material witnesses. Back in Ventura they were charged with murder.

Meanwhile, what happened to Redshirt? He and the district attorney made a deal. If he passed a lie-detector test, the murder charge against him would be dropped.

Redshirt failed the lie-detector test. The murder charge was dropped anyway.

Instead, he pleaded guilty to assault with a deadly weapon. He was given a five-year suspended sentence and is attending college on a grant.

He was the only on-the-scene witness brought before the grand jury.

He did not tell the grand jury he had stabbed the cabdriver.

With all of this, the prosecution pushes doggedly ahead. And the judge permits it to continue.

For the defense...

LOS ANGELES—From the outset, Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk have acted as their own counsel. However, they have been joined by a team of experienced trial lawyers.

Heading the defense team is Leonard Weinglass, who was an attorney in the Chicago Seven and the Pentagon papers trials. Assisting Weinglass are Wendy Eaton, Franklin "Skip" Glenn, and Peter Young.

Jack Schwartz, part of the defense team in the Wounded Knee trial, came in from South Dakota to participate in this case.

The extensive legal costs are being financed by the Skyhorse-Mohawk Offense/Defense Committee. Contributions may be sent to Box 30036, Terminal Annex, Los Angeles, California 90030. —H.R.

'Inside the Alaska Pipeline'

Inside the Alaska Pipeline by Ed McGrath. Published by Celestial Arts, Millbrae, California, 1977. 182 pages, \$4.95.

"The pipeline is truly a remarkable thing, a tribute to the power of American technology. If there are many questionable aspects to it, there is at least no denying its size. In fact, before the last barrel of crude is pumped out of the ground at Prudhoe Bay, the pipeline may generally be recognized as the biggest foul-up, the biggest waste of money, and the biggest rip-off of the American consumer yet perpetrated."

—Ed McGrath

Ed McGrath, a laborer on the Alaska pipeline, provides a firsthand account of what it's like working in minus sixty-degree weather. He recounts the running feuds—sometimes open war—between "hippie" laborers and "red-neck" pipeliners. ("I reckon the reason these fucking hippies never get any work done is because they're stoned all the time on that there marijuana." — "Well, at least we don't come to work with a hangover.") And he describes the deterioration of the quality of life

Books

in Alaska, which has the highest cost of living in the country.

Most important is McGrath's view from the bottom of the oil companies' crass disregard for the environment, the Alaskan people, and the American consumer.

The largest construction job ever undertaken by private industry, the Alaska pipeline was built by Alyeska Pipeline Service Company, a consortium of eight oil giants including Exxon, ARCO, Standard Oil of Ohio, and British Petroleum.

The pipeline was going to solve America's energy problems, they claimed. Never mind that there is only enough oil in Prudhoe Bay to supply total U.S. needs for two to three years. Never mind that there are no pipelines to move oil east from California. Never mind that they are now thinking of selling part of the oil to Japan because they can make more money that way.

The real name of the game for the "corporate oil junkies," as McGrath aptly calls them, was profits.

McGrath describes the results of the "cost plus" method of construction. The oil companies hired subcontractors to build the pipeline at cost, plus about 10 percent. In other words, the more the contractors spend, the more they make. If a bulldozer doesn't start, buy a new one. Nothing too good for the pipeline.

The price tag for the project has gone from an \$900 million estimate in 1970 to over \$9 billion.

Alyeska doesn't mind. It's a good excuse to raise petroleum prices. And besides, Alyeska gets a 7 percent return on the cost of the pipeline.

The pipeline is an ecological disaster. McGrath discusses the fight put up by the environmentalists to stop the line or at least establish construction standards. Despite the protests the question remained. How to enforce standards on an 800-mile-long construction job in the middle of nearly inaccessible wilderness?

According to McGrath, Alyeska has



Section of 800-mile pipeline built through the Alaskan tundra

not been overly cooperative with the government monitors supposedly overseeing the construction.

Alyeska does, however, know public relations. When it comes to PR campaigns on the environment, they are "absolute wizards," says McGrath. He describes Alyeska's orientation of new workers as an example. Every oil spill, no matter how small, must be cleaned up and reported to the foreman, the company declared.

Workers who tried to follow that order, however, often found themselves out of a job. Or worse. "I was once threatened that I would be run over with a Cat [Caterpillar tractor] if I was caught again cleaning up oil. . . ."

Foremen (and some workers) who equate ecology with communism, a lack of knowledge of the Alaskan environment and weather, and oil companies that couldn't care less as long as the oil starts flowing—these factors have already amounted to countless oil spills, some of them big.

One example is typical. Oil tanks at Prudhoe Bay were sealed off at fifty degrees below zero during a cold snap. However, when the temperature rose sixty degrees in twelve hours the fuel expanded, broke a valve, and spilled 70,000 gallons of crude oil on the tundra. Officials blamed the weather, but the real cause was a lack of understanding of the weather. "Anyone who has worked in Prudhoe Bay knows that such a temperature rise is possible, but what you've got to do is count on it," comments McGrath.

The indicators are that much more oil will spill when the line opens. In December a twelve-to-thirteen foot section of pipe split open during a nominal pressure test.

Recently nearly 4,000 welds that had cracks, falsified or missing X ray records, or other flaws were reported.

Although there are shut-off valves along the line, a leak in the weld or corrosion of the protective coating on the pipes (which also has turned out to be substandard) could dump thousands of gallons into the tundra and rivers before it can be stopped.

Assuming, that is, the leak is detected. According to Mechanics Research Inc., which works for the federal monitoring agency, Alyeska's leak detection system cannot detect a leak of under 1,700 gallons in a twenty-four-hour period.

And then there is the problem of earthquakes, sabotage, other undiscovered defects in engineering—the possibilities are endless. After all, the pipe crosses five earthquake zones and four

glaciers that might move.

But Alyeska has a solution. If they can't meet existing federal safety regulations they simply demand legislation to lower the standards.

An oil spill because of a pipeline break would be bad enough. But even that could be dwarfed by a spill from one of the giant tankers that will carry the oil from Alaska. The biggest

possible spill from the pipeline is estimated at 60,000 barrels. Each tanker carries 1 million barrels.

This is a book that cuts through all the advertising baloney from the oil companies and shows clearly—and in a very readable way—just why profits and a clean environment don't go hand-in-hand.

—Anne Teesdale

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'The CIA's Secret Army'

The CIA's Secret Army, produced by CBS News, aired June 10.

It seemed like a James Bond movie—an undercover army of 2,000 spies based in Miami, carrying out hushed-up terrorist raids. But the TV program was not fiction. It was a CBS documentary about "The CIA's Secret Army."

On June 10 CBS correspondent Bill Moyers gave the nation a glimpse at how the CIA has, literally, been getting away with murder. He interviewed Cuban exiles recruited to destroy Castro and the Cuban revolution, exiles who continue their war today.

Television

These counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles—gusanos (Spanish for "worms") as they are aptly called—first enlisted for the 1961 Bay of Pigs attack, engineered by the CIA. After Cuba successfully beat back that attempted invasion, the gusanos returned to the United States. Here they were organized into a sizable army to carry out further attacks against both Cuba and political dissidents in this country.

The CIA charter prohibits the agency from operating inside U.S. borders. Yet in Miami the CIA had a station of some 600-700 agents working with the 2,000-strong gusano army. To keep the operations under wraps the CIA had a huge network of accomplices in the FBI, Coast Guard, customs service, and local police.

American citizens have been shocked in the last few years to learn of CIA assassination plots, coups, and other "covert operations." But Moyers showed that such operations have long been accepted practice. He quoted from a previously classified 1954 White House report on the CIA:

"Hitherto acceptable norms of human conduct do not apply," said the report. "If the United States is to survive, long-standing American concepts of 'fair play' must be reconsidered. We must learn to subvert, sabotage and destroy our enemies by more clever, more sophisticated and more effective methods than those used against us."

Most shocking for some, perhaps, was the role of the liberal President John F. Kennedy. The CBS report showed Kennedy speaking in Seattle in 1961. While protesters outside carried signs demanding "Hands off Cuba!" Kennedy piously declared, "We cannot as a free nation compete with our adversaries in tactics of terror, assassination, false promises, counterfeit mobs, and crises."

But, at the very same time, Kennedy was approving the CIA's Operation Mongoose, the next stage of the terrorist war on Cuba. Operation Mongoose included everything Kennedy was denying.

The CIA carried out armed raids on Cuba, assassination plots against Castro, sabotage of Cuban trade. It hired mobsters to help in murder plots. All with Kennedy's approval.

The program proved that the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, far from being Kennedy's "finest hour," was actually a product of U.S. aggression against Cuba.

The CBS report also interviewed top CIA officials responsible for the gusanos' army. Did they have any regrets?—only that the truth about the operation had been exposed.

"I believe that an operation of that kind should never be undertaken unless it can be done so in the deepest, most permanently impenetrable secrecy," explained Richard Bissell, the CIA official in charge of covert operations during the Bay of Pigs invasion and Operation Mongoose.

The documentary also produced a new and sinister revelation. Previously Bernard Barker, the ex-CIA agent who recruited gusanos for the Watergate burglary, had testified that only a handful of Cubans were involved with such operations here at home.

But in the CBS interview, Barker said that actually 120 CIA-trained people took part in what he called "Operation Diamond." This secret squad, he said, was set up directly by the White House.

What did the Diamond army do? "Any kind of missions," he answered. "Remember that here in Miami we have every trained group that is needed in a revolution. If you want people superbly trained in explosives, we have them. If you want specialists in weapons, we have them. You name them, we got 'em."

When asked if Diamond carried out assassinations or kidnappings, Barker used old CIA doublethink:

"We neutralize these things. We don't think in terms of kidnap. We don't think in criminal terms. . . . And what you call a burglary, I call it a surreptitious entry because there's a difference in what you're saying and what I'm saying."

It was the Diamond army, it seems, that burglarized the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist and that provoked a confrontation at an anti-Vietnam War rally.

It's too bad CBS didn't ask about other gusano attacks. Like the 1970 raid when more than a dozen gusanos burst into the Los Angeles Socialist Workers Party campaign headquarters, ordered four campaign workers to lie down on the floor at gunpoint, and set the place on fire. Barker bragged that the Diamond operation took on "any kind of missions."

These gusano terrorists have not stopped their war. There have been dozens of recent bombings and kidnappings. The bombing of a Cuban plane last October killed seventy-three people. A gusano commando admitted and defended this atrocity to Moyers.

Orlando Letelier, former Chilean ambassador, was murdered last fall in Washington, D.C., where he was in exile. CBS did not mention the strong indications of gusano involvement in this assassination.

But a masked gusano looked into the CBS camera and declared, "No matter what happens we are going to keep fighting against the communists. . . ."

When it came to Washington's role in these latest operations, Moyers sank into a simplistic naïveté. "There is no reason to believe" that the United States is now backing the terrorists, he concluded. What a conclusion to a two-hour documentary on how the CIA covered up past terrorist campaigns!

Moyers's claim that today's gusano attacks are not government-backed is especially incredible in light of Bissell's explanation of how things are done so that the president can deny knowledge of operations:

"I think it is the duty of a good intelligence officer to make sure that he doesn't do anything that the chief of state doesn't want done or doesn't approve of," said Bissell. "And secondly, that he conducts his conversations with the chief of state in such a way that the chief of state can never be proven to have explicitly authorized certain kinds of action."

It is hard to believe that the "good intelligence officers" behind today's gusano attacks have suddenly become free-lance agents.

Another low point of the program was its attempt to twist the massive evidence of CIA murder plots against Castro to suggest that Castro ordered the assassination of Kennedy. Absolutely the only "evidence" cited was that Castro knew that Kennedy was trying to kill him!

That is called making the victim the criminal.

Overall, however, the CBS documentary was an amazing revelation. It showed why Americans must keep trying to pierce what Bissell called the CIA's "deepest, most permanently impenetrable secrecy."

—Diane Wang

Indians expose US hypocrisy on human rights

By Peter Seidman

If members of the International Indian Treaty Council have anything to say about it, at least one burning spear of truth will penetrate the smoke-screen of U.S. government propaganda now going up at the Belgrade conference on "East-West cooperation."

During the conference, Washington has been demagogically protesting the Kremlin's violation of human rights. This is an effort to score propaganda points at the expense of the Stalinist bureaucracy, while diverting attention from the human rights violations perpetrated by the United States in its own backyard and internationally.

The Indian Treaty Council has asked the Soviet Union to challenge Washington's hypocrisy at Belgrade. In documents forwarded through the Soviet Mission to the United Nations, the council charges that the United States has violated both the human rights provisions of the 1975 Helsinki agreement and the United Nations convention on genocide in its dealings with American Indians.

The council accuses Washington of:

- violating treaties that are legally binding between the U.S. government and sovereign Indian nations;

- suppressing Indian religions and the exercise of traditional political, economic, and social tribal practices; and

- violating provisions of the UN convention against genocide by maintaining Indian reservations that inflict "conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or part."

Carter ignores new demands to: 'Free the Wilmington 10!'

By Peter Seidman

The hypocrisy of President Carter's self-proclaimed concern for human rights was exposed June 13 at a White House news conference. He was asked to state his position on the case of the Wilmington Ten.

The Wilmington Ten are nine Black and one white North Carolina civil rights workers sentenced to a combined total of 282 years in prison on frame-up arson and conspiracy charges stemming from a desegregation struggle in 1971.

Carter admitted that the Wilmington Ten case is "a matter of longstanding controversy both on the domestic scene and internationally as well."

But the president put a wall of gobbledygook between himself and the growing numbers who are demanding freedom for the ten.

"The only comment I am free to make," Carter said, "is that I hope that justice will prevail. . . ." He explained that he trusts "the system in its entirety. If there ever is a mistake made at a lower level . . . there's always a right to appeal. And I believe the history of our judicial system is that ultimately they make the right decision."

But a North Carolina judge had already shown how "the system" really works. On May 20 the judge ruled against the ten following a hearing on their request for a new trial.

The ruling came despite admissions by three key prosecution witnesses that their earlier testimony was secured through pressure and bribery.

The judge's ruling has provoked a storm of new protests.

On June 18, sixty members of Congress urged Attorney General Griffin Bell to recommend either a pardon or a commutation of sentence for the Wilmington Ten. They also urged Bell to file a friend-of-the-court brief with the North Carolina appeals court, which will hear the ten's next request for a new trial.

Important new backing for the defense efforts has also come from the NAACP. At a recent statewide NAACP meeting in Raleigh, North Carolina, NAACP chief counsel Nathaniel Jones called the judge's ruling "hardcore discrimination." He pledged the NAACP's "full resources" to efforts to free the ten.

Calendar

BOSTON: FENWAY-SOUTH END
INTRODUCTION TO SOCIALISM. The Fight for Black Liberation. Wed., June 29, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Fl. (Kenmore Square). Ausp: SWP. For more information call (617) 262-4620.

CINCINNATI
SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Lessons from Labor History: the Minneapolis Teamster Strike. Speaker: Tom Kincaid, SWP. Thurs., June 30, 7 p.m. 970 E. McMillan. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

DETROIT
THE J.P. STEVENS BOYCOTT. Speakers: Martha Wilson, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; Don Bechler, member of UAW Local 174, SWP; and the film *Testimony*. Fri., July 1, 8 p.m. 18415 Wyoming. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 341-6436.

HOUSTON
SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Series of weekly classes based on four books on the history of the Teamsters union by Farrell Dobbs. Every Wed., 7 p.m. 4987 S. Park. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (713) 526-1082, 643-0005 or 697-5543.

HOUSTON: EAST END
INTRODUCTION TO MARXISM CLASSES. Every Mon., 7:30 p.m. 4987 S. Park. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (713) 643-0005.

HOUSTON: NORTHEAST
INTRODUCTION TO MARXISM CLASSES. Every Fri., 7 p.m. 2835 Laura Koppe. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (713) 697-5543 or 526-1082.

KANSAS CITY, MO.
WHAT SOCIALISTS STAND FOR. Class on basic concepts of socialism. Wed., June 29, 7:30 p.m. 4715 Troost. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

LONG BEACH, CALIF.
SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Revolutionary strategy in the Labor Movement. Wed., July 13, 20, and 27, 7:30 p.m. 3322 E. Anaheim St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (213) 597-0965.

LOS ANGELES
COMMUNITY DISCUSSION ON HOW TO COMBAT PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY AND ANITA BRYANT. Speakers: Morris Kight; Wayne Hieber, SWP; others. Thurs., June 30, 8 p.m. Place to be announced. Ausp: L.A. County Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 482-1820.

LOS ANGELES
SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Revolutionary Strategy in the Labor Movement. Wed., July 6, 13, and 20, 7:30 p.m. 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd., East Los Angeles. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (213) 265-1347 or 482-1820.

LOUISVILLE, KY.
GRAND OPENING OF MILITANT BOOKSTORE AND SWP CAMPAIGN FOR MAYOR. Speaker: Debby Tarnopol, SWP candidate for mayor of Louisville. Sat., July 9, reception 6 p.m., rally 7:30 p.m. 1505 W. Broadway. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1977 Louisville Campaign. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MILWAUKEE
SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. A discussion on Lenin's *State and Revolution*. Thurs., June 30, 7 p.m. 3901 N. 27th St. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (414) 442-8170 or 963-5551.

NEWARK, N.J.
SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Series on Teamster struggles of the 1930s. Tues., June 28. Fri., July 8. Tues., July 12. All classes 7:30 p.m. Rm. 240 Conklin Hall, Rutgers Univ. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (201) 482-3367.

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND. Classes on the *Communist Manifesto*. Sat., June 25, 1 p.m. & 2:30 p.m. Rm. 240 Conklin Hall, Rutgers Univ. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (201) 482-3367.

NEW ORLEANS
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classes and discussions dealing with political issues. Find out the Socialist Workers Campaign positions and what Joel Aber, socialist candidate for mayor of New Orleans, stands for. Every Sat., 2 p.m. 3812 Magazine St. Ausp: 1977 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (504) 891-5324.

NEW YORK
MEMORIAL MEETING FOR ROBERT LANGSTON. Sun., June 26, 4:30 p.m. Community Church, 40 E. 35th St. For more information call (212) 982-8214.

NEW YORK: BROOKLYN
WEEKLY CLASS SERIES ON THE BASICS OF LENIN AND TROTSKY. Every Thurs., 7:30 p.m. 220-222 Utica Ave. Donation: \$.75. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (212) 773-0250.

NEW YORK: CHELSEA
HOW CAN WE FIGHT FOR GAY HUMAN RIGHTS? Speakers: Joe Kear, Miami SWP and gay rights activist; David Thorstad, Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights; other speakers to be announced. Fri., July 1, 8 p.m. McBurney YMCA Auditorium, 215 W. 23rd St. (west of 7th Ave.). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 989-2731.

NEW YORK: QUEENS
WEEKLY CLASS SERIES ON BASICS OF MARX AND LENIN. Thursdays, June 23 & June 30, 7:30 p.m. 90-43 149th St., Jamaica. Donation: \$.75. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (212) 658-7718.

OMAHA, NEBR.
HISTORY OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT: THE 1930s AND TODAY. Speaker: Wendy Lyons, national committee of SWP. Tues., June 28 & Wed., June 29, 7:30 p.m. St. Therese House, 613 N. 17th St. Donation: \$.50 per class. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (712) 323-2545.

PHOENIX, ARIZ.
SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. History of the Fourth International, 1951-63. Speaker: Cobey McCarthy, SWP. Tues., June 28, 7:30 p.m. 314 E. Taylor. Donation: \$.50. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.
NO MORE MIAMIS: A STRATEGY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. A panel of speakers. Thurs., June 30, 8 p.m. Place to be announced. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 626-6288.

SEATTLE
SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. *The Emerging Revolt of U.S. Labor*. Fri., July 1, 8 p.m. Cherry St. YWCA, 2820 E. Cherry St. *Background and Perspectives for Developing a Left Wing in the Unions.* Part 1: Sat., July 2, 11 a.m. Douglass Truth Library, 23rd & Yesler. Party to follow. Part 2: Sun., July 3, 11 a.m. Cherry St. YWCA. Picnic to follow. Speaker for all three classes: Tom Kerry, former SWP national organization secretary. Donation: \$1 per class. Ausp: SWP & YSA. For more information call (206) 524-6670.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: ADAMS-MORGAN
SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Socialist Strategy in the Labor Movement: Significance of 1930s Teamster Struggles for Today. Thurs., June 30, 7:30 p.m. 2416 18th St. NW. Donation \$.50. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (202) 797-7706.

...Minn. Continued from page 14

this race. Hofstede from the DFL and myself, the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

"I'm the only working-class candidate in this mayoral election, the only candidate that solidarizes with workers, with the Black struggle, with Native American and Chicano rights, and with the women's liberation movement.

"I say dump the DFL, dump the GOP. These are the parties of the bosses—the parties of the Wayzata and Minnetonka Country Club set. Let's form our own labor party and put working-class interests first."

White House pushes phony spy guidelines

By David Frankel

WASHINGTON—Under the false guise of protecting civil liberties, the Carter administration is proposing that the FBI's "domestic intelligence guidelines" be written into law. The current guidelines—themselves hailed as a "reform"—actually institutionalized many of the agency's previously unofficial tactics against political dissenters.

Representatives of the FBI and Justice Department argued their case June 6 before the House Judiciary Committee's subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights.

Rep. Robert Drinan (D-Mass.) asked the administration witnesses, "Why do you need special guidelines for domestic security?"

When told that the guidelines would protect the rights of dissident groups, Drinan replied, "I think it makes it easier for you to investigate these things rather than harder."

Rep. Don Edwards (D-Calif.) challenged the FBI's argument that it needs "a capability for preventive action." Edwards asked, "Isn't that Cointelpro—preventive action? Organizations that the FBI held were subversive were therefore open to disruption and harassment. . . .

"What you're saying is that although you have no proof, all kinds of preventive actions can be taken because somewhere down the road there may be

terrorism."

FBI Inspector John Hotis claimed that the FBI had reduced the number of "domestic security" cases in its files from 4,868 to 214 during the past year. However, Hotis declined to say what organizations were being investigated and claimed not to have other details about the cases.

It could be that the supposed reduction is just the result of shuffling and relabeling cases. Perhaps, for example, all the files about members of an organization have now been consolidated into one file.

"I want a report on what has happened," Drinan complained. "We're supposed to be supervising the FBI, but you won't tell us what's transpired with these cases."

At a hearing before another House subcommittee June 9, Attorney General Griffin Bell also tried to evade the question of whether the FBI's illegal operations were continuing.

Bell, however, did say, "I will develop a system that is fail-safe, which will convince the American people that nothing is going on."

How reassuring.

"I don't want to say whether anything is going on or is not going on," Bell added. "It's too big. I wouldn't know that. . . .

"There are 20,000 people in the FBI. I hope there's nothing like this going on."

Also turned over to the Clamshell Alliance in the court suit was an article from *Information Digest*.

Information Digest only carries "information" on radical organizations. It is published by John and Louise Rees. Louise Rees was a police spy in the National Lawyers Guild in 1972 and 1973, and has worked for the House Internal Security Committee. She now works for Rep. Larry McDonald, a Georgia Democrat and member of the John Birch Society's national council. John Rees is also part of McDonald's farm of spies. According to Clamshell Alliance he works for Wackenhut, Inc., a private security firm that has a \$10 million contract from the federal government to protect nuclear power plants.

McDonald often inserts *Information Digest* articles into the *Congressional Record* to "prove" some red-baiting smear. *Information Digest* is widely regarded as a conduit for information collected by spies from the FBI, local red squads, and ultrarightists.

Publication of the article suggests the concern of

the various police agencies over the Seabrook action.

The FBI was also in on the snooping. A bureau informer reported that a meeting of the July 4th Coalition in New York City had voted to endorse the Seabrook action.

The FBI report to the New Hampshire state police indicated that the coalition "predicted a 'violent encounter with the police.'"

This report was also a fabrication. However, that didn't prevent Loeb from publishing it on the front page of his paper.

The already revealed surveillance of the Clamshell Alliance is typical of the "respect" for constitutional rights the rulers of this country—Democrats and Republicans alike—have when a movement threatening their power begins to grow.

This episode shows that the surveillance, bugging, and break-ins associated with the Nixon administration are in fact the normal way the capitalist government operates.

...spying

Continued from page 3

son publicly announced that the Seabrook occupation was "a cover for terrorist activity"—exactly the words used by the USLP.

Two front-page articles in the Manchester, New Hampshire, *Union Leader* April 29 also repeated the USLP charges. The *Union Leader's* publisher, William Loeb, has a national reputation for his extreme right-wing views. He is a close political ally of the governor.

One article began: "Members of several national, left-wing organizations plan to force a major confrontation between police and demonstrators. . . intelligence memoranda gathered by law enforcement agencies show."

The source of this entirely fabricated assertion was not revealed, but the article prominently featured similar charges from the USLP.

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Another major subject examined is repression in the USSR, which was reaching new heights with the staging of the first Moscow trial in August 1936. Among other topics in these writings are Trotsky's views on the Spanish and French "People's Fronts"; terrorism; the new Soviet constitution; the Seventh Congress of the Communist International; the relation of the capitalist state to the fight against fascism; Rosa Luxemburg's legacy; the uses of the general strike; and the relation of factions to political parties. 574 pages, cloth \$15.00, paper \$4.45

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Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 314 E. Taylor, Phoenix, Ariz. 85004. Tel: (602) 255-0450.

Tucson: YSA, SUPO 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720. Tel: (602) 795-2053.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP, YSA, Granma Bookstore, 3264 Adeline St., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156.

East Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd., East Los Angeles, Calif. 90022. Tel: (213) 265-1347.

Long Beach: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 3322 Anaheim St., Long Beach, Calif. 90804. Tel: (213) 597-0965.

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THE MILITANT

NO MORE MIAMIS

How to win gay rights

By Diane Wang

"All America and all the world will hear what the people have said, and with God's continued help we will prevail. . . ."

It was the night of June 7. Anita Bryant was claiming victory for her "Save Our Children" coalition. This reactionary crusade had succeeded in repealing a Miami law that outlawed discrimination against gay people in jobs, housing, and public accommodations.

But at the same time, in San Francisco and New York, thousands of human rights supporters poured into streets to answer her. "No more Miamis! Gay rights now!"

The Miami referendum and gays' refusal to accept defeat without a fight have dramatically projected the question of gay rights into the national political spotlight. The experience of the Miami referendum and the national gay rights campaign it has sparked is significant—and not just for gay men and lesbians.

The right-wing drive against the Miami antidiscrimination law emerged as part of a broader assault on all human rights. The targets are Blacks and other minorities, women, undocumented workers—all those who suffer discrimination.

These attacks occur in the context of a general offensive against the rights and living standards of



NEW ORLEANS—4,000 march June 18. Roundup of actions, pages 26-27.

Militant/Joel Aber

all working people waged by this country's ruling rich, their government, and their two political parties. It is this offensive that creates a favorable climate for reactionary efforts such as Anita Bryant's crusade.

The real stakes in the clash over gay rights were explained by Arlie Scott, national vice-president of the National Organization for Women, at a recent NOW meeting:

"In attacking gay people and lesbians in Dade County they are attacking a very vulnerable section of society," Scott explained. "They attack them first, get them first. . . . It's not very far from that to attacking abortion. . . . These are the same people who are against busing, the same people against affirmative action."

To fight the attack on gay rights and to defend ourselves from this general assault, we need to analyze the Miami experience.

One dismal fact stands out from the Miami vote tally: voter turnout was as high as 80 percent in "Save Our Children" strongholds. It was low in most places where support for gay rights was expected.

Miami's "Little Havana," where tens of thousands of counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles live, had a high voter turnout, and 86 percent voted against gay rights.

In contrast, the Black community gave more support to the antidiscrimination law than many other precincts, with almost half of the voters backing gay rights. But barely 10 percent voted in the Black districts.

The support for gay rights that did exist was not mobilized to save the antidiscrimination law.

In fact, leaders of the Dade County Coalition for Human Rights deliberately put the brakes on attempts to organize a mass-action campaign to pose the issues clearly and mobilize supporters of the gay rights ordinance.

They discouraged leafleting until the last weekend before the vote. They even canceled a public rally initially scheduled for May 28.

Instead, the coalition hired several Democratic Party "pros." And these engineers of defeat told gay men and lesbians to leave the work to them.

The politicians did put on a lavish effort. The Dade County Coalition for Human Rights raised \$350,000—about twice what "Save Our Children" raised. It hit Miami with an expensive media blitz designed by professionals. There were news conferences by celebrities.

But human rights cannot be "sold" in an ad campaign like toothpaste.

There were no massive actions to give all

Continued on page 26

Matlovich: 'We must keep marching'

By Ike Nahem

NEW ORLEANS—"In Germany, they came for the communists and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a communist. Then they came for the trade unionists and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a trade unionist. Then they came for me, and got me, and it was too late."

That's how Leonard Matlovich paraphrases a famous plea for unity among the oppressed as he speaks

Interview

around the country in defense of gay rights. The former air force sergeant gave the keynote speech at a June 18 demonstration of nearly 4,000 here in New Orleans protesting the defeat of the Miami-area gay rights ordinance.

I talked with Matlovich the next day when he addressed the Militant Forum.

We discussed how antigay forces have also lashed out against abortion rights, the Equal Rights Amendment, and school desegregation. He told me that he thought all the victims of this right-wing movement should stand together.

"I call it patchwork majority," he said. "If all the minority groups patch ourselves together, then we

become the majority and we get the political power we need to gain our rights."

For years, Matlovich, like so many other gays, bore society's antigay prejudices in silence and isolation. "I hated homosexuals," he has said. "I hated what I knew I was but could not admit. When other officers cracked 'faggot' jokes, I cracked 'faggot' jokes while inside I fell apart."

One day Matlovich almost ended it all by putting a shotgun to his head. But instead, he turned his desperation into a new resolve. In March 1975 he informed his superior officer that he was gay.

This led to his discharge from the air force. Since then he has waged an ongoing fight for reinstatement, and has become a well-known public defender of human and civil rights. I first heard Matlovich speak in late 1975 at a school desegregation conference in Boston.

I asked him why he had decided to fight back. As a race relations counselor in the air force, he replied, "I told students to get involved in their country and make it a better place. . . . I felt like a hypocrite, because I was telling my students to do something that I wasn't willing to do myself."

In his rally speech the day before,

Matlovich explained, "When I saw Martin Luther King marching for the rights of Blacks, I began to slowly look at my own oppression and say, 'No. I'm gay and I'm proud.'"

I asked him how he thought people should respond to the stepped-up antigay attacks.

"We've got to organize," he began. ". . . we must be very aggressive. We must go after those politicians who don't support us and expose them as the racists and bigots they are."

As for the importance of ongoing demonstrations, he said, "Not only are they important, they are necessary. Without those demonstrations, without that leg work, there will be no movement. And I hope that all these actions that are happening throughout the country are dress rehearsals for what will happen in Washington, D.C., some date in the future."

Matlovich emphasized this point to a cheering crowd the day before: "The Blacks showed us the way forward. If a vote was taken in Selma, Alabama, in 1965 on civil rights, the Blacks would have lost."

"But they kept marching. After our defeat in Miami, we must keep marching. We must march toward our national march in Washington, D.C."



Militant/Mike Alewitz

Leonard Matlovich addressing New Orleans rally.